495/3

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL.

PORTRAITS

OF

ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONAGES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

W. NICOL, PRINTER, SUCCESSOR TO W. BULMER AND CO.
Shakspeare Press.

96

PORTRAITS

OF

Illustrious Personages

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGRAVED FROM

AUTHENTIC PICTURES IN THE GALLERIES OF THE NOBILITY AND THE PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY.

WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF THEIR LIVES AND ACTIONS,

BY

EDMUND LODGE, ESQ. F.S.A.

VOL. III.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HARDING, TRIPHOOK AND LEPARD.

1825.

THE TANJORE MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

Temporary.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF PARTS IX. TO XII.

FORMING

VOLUME III.

*** *The following arrangement of Subjects is Chronological, according to the periods at which they deceased. The dates agreeing with those upon the engravings, will serve as guides in turning to any individual Portrait or Memoir. At the close of the work* a General Chronological, *as well as an* Alphabetical Arrangement, *will be printed, when these* temporary *Tables of Contents, which will be inserted in every fourth Part, to enable Subscribers to put their copies into boards for better preservation or convenience of reference, may be destroyed, as the work cannot be properly arranged for Binding until the whole is completed.*

1. WILLIAM, LORD PAGET, - - HOLBEIN. 1503
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Anglesea, at Beaudesert.

2. WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, HOLBEIN. 1532
From the Collection of His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth Palace.

3. EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE, - 1556
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

4. SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND, OF LETHINGTON, - 1573
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Lauderdale, at Thirlestane Castle.

5. HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL, HOLBEIN. 1580
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Bath, at Longleat.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI

CONTENTS.

6. JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON, - - 1581
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy.

7. MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND, - - 1587
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Morton, at Dalmahoy.

8. GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND, - 1605
From the Bodleian Gallery, Oxford.

9. ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY, ZUCCHERO. 1612
From the Collection of the Most Noble the Marquis of Salisbury, at Hatfield House.

10. LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD, HONTHORST. 1627
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn Abbey.

11. EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER, ZUCCHERO. 1627
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

12. GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES, ZUCCHERO. 1629
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Verulam, at Gorhambury.

13. SIR HUGH MIDDLETON, - - - - - 1631
From the Original in Goldsmith's Hall, London.

14. ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, - - - 1643
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Warwick, at Warwick Castle.

15. WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON, MYTENS. 1651
From the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton Palace.

16. DOROTHY PERCY, COUNTESS OF LEICESTER, VANDYKE. 1659
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

V56 f12
f95 A25.3

CONTENTS.

17. ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK, - - LELY. 1671
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, at Grove Park.

18. JOHN LESLIE, DUKE OF ROTHES, - - LELY. 1681
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Rothes, at Leslie House.

19. WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL, - - - LELY. 1683
From the Collection of the late Right Honourable the Earl of Upper Ossory.

20. ANNE CARRE, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD, VANDYKE. 1684
From the Collection of the Right Honourable the Earl of Egremont, at Petworth.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARASWATI MAHAL

Engraved by R. Cooper.

WILLIAM, LORD PAGET.

OB. 1563.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEA.

London, Published July 1, 1823; by Harding, Mavor, & Lepard.

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET.

THE character of this eminent Statesman was drawn about sixty years after his death by a writer who sometimes sacrificed the sacred veracity of biography to his love of that forcible and terse method of expression in which he excelled, and whom therefore I never quote, unless his assertions can be supported by the genuine evidence of history. "His education," says Lloyd, "was better than his birth, his knowledge higher than his education, his parts above his knowledge, and his experience beyond his parts. A general learning furnished him for travel, and travel seasoned him for employment. His masterpiece was an inward observation of other men, and an exact knowledge of himself. His address was with state, yet insinuating; his discourse free, but weighed; his apprehension quick, but stayed; his ready and present mind keeping its pauses of thoughts and expressions even with the occasion and the emergency; neither was his carriage more stiff and uncompliant than his soul." The eulogist might have added, without hazard of contradiction, that a more faithful and honest minister never existed.

He owed nothing to the influence either of ancestry or wealth, but sprang from a very private family in Staffordshire, from whence his father, a native of Wednesbury, in that county, migrated to London, and obtained there the office of Serjeant at Mace in the corporation. William, his eldest son, the subject of this memoir, was born in that city in 1506, and commenced his education in St. Paul's school, under the celebrated Lilly, from whence he was removed to Trinity Hall, in Cambridge. At this early period of his life, the foundation of his future eminence was laid. By some means, long since forgotten, he became known

to Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, perhaps not only the first scholar, as well as the most acute statesman of his time, but a zealous cultivator also of those more elegant branches of literature which were then little professed in England. He was received into the family of that prelate, and, after a time, sent under his auspices to complete his education in the University of Paris, from whence he returned again into the Bishop's house. Bred under the wing of Gardiner, it is not strange that he should have contracted a strong attachment to the ancient faith of his country. He practised it, under all the extraordinary varieties of its fortune which distinguished his time, with inflexible constancy, but with a mildness and moderation towards its opponents which marked the goodness of his heart.

In 1530, then but at the age of twenty-four, the King, doubtless through the recommendation of Gardiner, sent him into France, to collect the opinions of the most learned and experienced jurists of that kingdom on the great question of the proposed divorce, and rewarded him on his return with the appointment of a Clerk of the Signet, which was afterwards confirmed to him for his life. He seems to have been no otherwise employed till 1537, when he was dispatched, with great privacy, into Germany, to foment the discord which then subsisted between the Emperor and the Protestant Princes, and to endeavour to persuade them to refer their differences to the mediation of Henry, and the King of France. In 1541 the offices of Clerk of the Privy Council, and Clerk of the Signet, were conferred on him, as was soon after that of Clerk of the Parliament for life; in the following year he was sent ambassador into France; and in 1543, in which year he was knighted, was appointed one of the two principal Secretaries of State. His distinguished skill, however, in foreign diplomacy confined him chiefly to that line of public service during the remainder of Henry's reign. In the summer of 1545 he negociated, in concert with the Chancellor Wriothesley, and the Duke of Suffolk, the

terms of the marriage of the Princess Margaret to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, and many other important matters relative to Scotland, and was soon after joined in commission with the Earl of Hertford to manage that treaty with France which, for the time, was rendered fruitless by the French King's positive demand of the restitution of Boulogne. In the succeeding June, however, the peace was concluded, chiefly under his direction. Henry, who survived that important act but for a few months, appointed Sir William Paget an executor to his Will, and one of the council to his minor successor.

The strict intimacy and confidence in which he had long lived with the Earl of Hertford, uncle to the young King, and now Protector of him, and of the realm, opened to him a new channel of favour. He was chosen a Knight of the Garter on Edward's accession, and soon after resigned his office of Secretary of State, and was appointed Comptroller of the Royal Household, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: a singular exchange, which we may probably ascribe to the inconvenient interruptions to the duties of a Secretary of State which must have arisen from his frequent nomination to foreign missions. He was in fact dispatched within very few months to the Emperor, in the character of Ambassador Extraordinary, to persuade that Prince to join in an alliance against France, and, though the negociation wholly failed, left that court with a splendor of general reputation which perhaps no other foreign minister in any time has enjoyed. Of this we have abundant proof in the letters of Sir Philip Hoby, then Resident Ambassador there, extracts from which may be found in Stripe's Memorials; and Lloyd, the writer lately quoted, tells us that Charles "once cried, in a rapture, that he deserved to be a King, as well as to represent one;" and, one day, as he came to court, "yonder is the man I can deny nothing to." A short extract from one of his letters to the Protector during his embassy, which is preserved in the Harleian MSS. while it lets us somewhat into the character of his mind, seems to

prove that he could not have purchased much of his favour at the Court of Brussels by flattery. After having recited much at large some former conferences with the Emperor's ministers, he says—

" ------ The day following d'Arras, accompanied w[t] Mons[r] St. Maurice, came to my lodging, and, albeit I was the day before somewhat moved, yet, hoping thei had brought some resolution, I quieted myself; and after salutac~ons, and wordes of office, I beganne to give ear what thei wolde say; when sodainly d'Arras, after a great circumstance, and many goodly painted wordes, entred th' excuse of my longe abode here w[t]out answere to my charge, w[ch] he affirmed was occasioned by th' Emp[or's] busines abowte the Prince's swearing in thies townes; and praied us therefore on his Ma.[te's] behalf, to take pacience untill his coming to Brusselles, when, without faile, he said I sholde be dispatched. W[ch] when I hearde, and p~ceving, in steade of the resoluc~on and answer that I looked for, to be only fed w[t] faire wordes, I must confesse unto yo[r] Grace I colde not keepe pacience, but, being entred somewhat into coler, answered him that I was now here at th' Emp[or's] will and com~andme~t: He might stay me as long as it liked him, and dispache me when he liste: But, q[d] I, were I once at home, I knowe that neither the King's Ma[tie] wold sende me hither, nor I, for my part, to wynne an hundreth thousande crownes, come againe abowte eine' like matter, considering how coldly the same hitherto proceaded; and suerly I am sorie that either ye sholde judge me so voide of wit that I colde not perceive wherunto this childishe excuse tendeth, or occasion me to suppose you so much w[t]out considerac~on as to thinke I colde be brought to beleave that the Prince's swearing colde be eine' delay to the answering of thies things that I am come hither for; a matter easie inogh to be perceaved of such as never had einé experience of the worlde, etc. Hereunto d'Arras very coldly answerd that, in good faythe, the cause of my staye, whatsoever I thought, was onely such as he had shewed me, and therefore

praied me not to conceive any other opinion; for I assure you, q^{d} he, the Emp^{or} beareth the King, his good brother, asmuche affec˜eon as if he were his sonn, and wolde gladly ayde and assiste him in all things to the uttermost that he maye conveniently: But, q^{d} he, thies matters are weightie, and require to be answered unto w^{t} deliberac˜on. Yf thei seemed as weightie unto you as ye speake, q^{d} I, I cannot judge but ye wolde er this time have spied out some time to answere unto them; and, as for th' Emp$^{or's}$ assistance, my M^{r} requyrethe it not einé other waies then shall appere to be requisite and beneficiall for both parties; and therefore, if the occasion of this long dely be uppon einé other considerac˜on then ye have yet declared unto us, I wolde wishe ye delte like frendes, and opened the same frankely: and I knowe, q^{d} I, that thies matters were concluded before Monsr G.'s departure, wch maketh me more to muse why ye sholde so longe stay from making reaport of yor answere," &c.

On his return from Brussels he was called by writ to the House of Peers, by the title of Baron Paget, of Beaudesert, in Staffordshire, and was immediately after appointed a commissioner to treat for the accommodation of new differences which had arisen between England and France. But the feud between the Protector and Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, which had long divided Edward's court and council, had now risen to its height, and the former sunk under the boldness and the artifices of his mighty adversary. Lord Paget necessarily, for such was the custom of the time, shared in the misfortune of his friend. He was committed to the Fleet Prison on the twenty-first of October, 1551, and some weeks after, removed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner, without a cause assigned, for five months, at the end of which he was divested of the Order of the Garter, on the ground of insufficiency of blood; charged with corruption and embezzlement in his office of the Duchy; and sentenced in the star-chamber to a fine of six thousand pounds. These severities had no other object than to terrify the small remnant of the

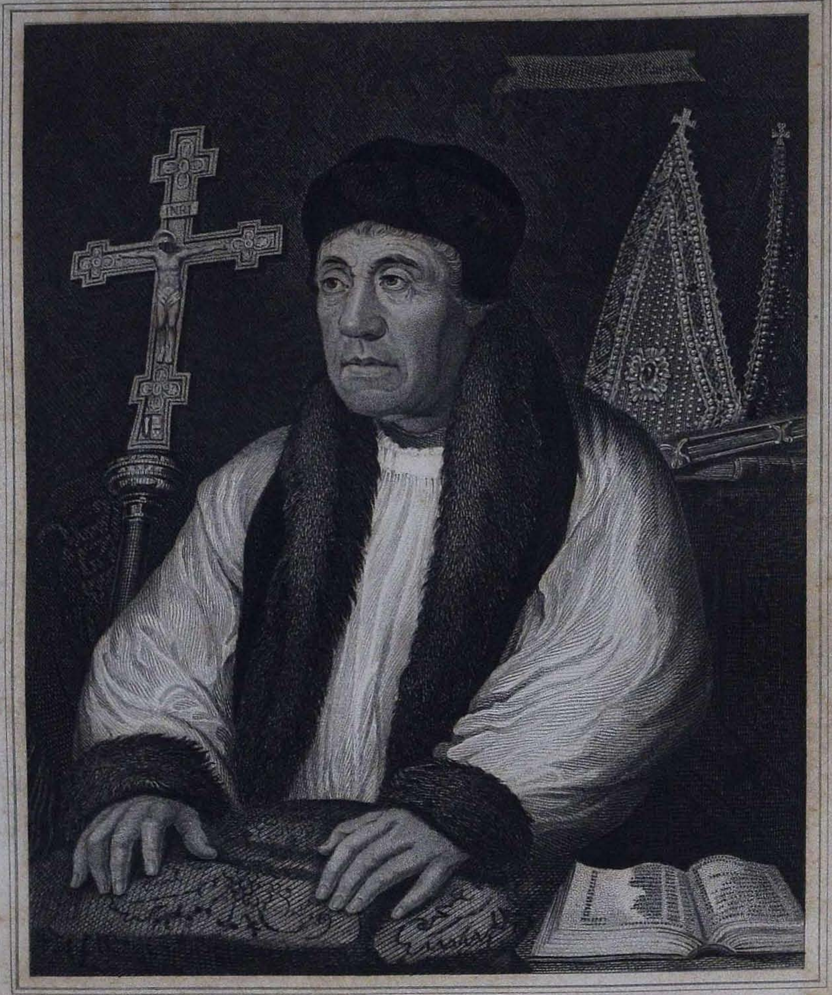
Protector's party into obedience till the power of the Duke of Northumberland should be firmly settled; for in December, 1552, Lord Paget obtained a general pardon, with the exception only of debts to the King, which was inserted but to save appearances, for it should seem that the fine with which he had been most unjustly charged was almost wholly remitted. It remained, however, to Mary to restore to him the Garter, which was done with great ceremony, at a chapter of the order held at St. James's, on the twenty-seventh of September, 1553, six weeks after she mounted the throne, when it appears to have been for the first time admitted, certainly to the honour of the order, that no objection on the score of birth ought to be allowed to supersede the claims of transcendent personal merit.

Mary, indeed, could not but have been prompted to favour him, equally by her interests and her prejudices. He had appeared among the first to assert her disputed title to the throne, and had hastened to her presence to give her the earliest notice of her having been proclaimed Queen in London. He had been persecuted by her bitterest enemies, and was distinguished by the most stedfast adherence to that faith the maintenance of which was unhappily the first object of her life. She received him into her utmost confidence. He was appointed to manage the treaty of her marriage with Philip of Spain; was sent Ambassador, immediately after, to the Emperor, his father, to agitate certain points tending to the re-establishment of the Papal authority in England; and, soon after his return, was appointed Lord Privy Seal. Though a warm advocate for the Spanish match, which indeed had been chiefly planned by himself and his old friend Gardiner, he entertained a becoming jealousy of Philip, and expressed it, when necessary, with a bold and honourable frankness. That Prince, who undoubtedly meditated by marrying Mary to make himself master of England, had applied to the Parliament, when she was supposed to be pregnant, for an act to constitute him Regent till the child should be of age to

govern; and proposed to give security for his surrender of the Regency when that period might arrive. The motion, which had been largely debated in the House of Peers, was likely to be carried, when Lord Paget suddenly rose, and said, "Pray who shall sue the King's bond?" These few words changed the temper of the House, and it was negatived.

On the accession of Elizabeth he withdrew himself voluntarily from the public service. That Princess, says Camden, "entertained an affection and value for him, though he was a strict zealot of the Romish Church." After six years of retirement, he died on the ninth of June, 1563, and was buried, according to the direction of his will, at Drayton, in Middlesex. Fuller, who is frequently incorrect, informs us that he was very aged, but the inscription on a superb monument erected to his memory in Litchfield Cathedral, which was destroyed in the general wreck of the interior of that church in the grand rebellion, states, according to a copy preserved in the family of Hatton, that he died in his fifty-eighth year.

Lord Paget married Anne, daughter and heir of Henry Preston, a descendant of the house of Preston, of Preston, in Yorkshire, by whom he had four sons, and six daughters. Henry, the eldest, died without issue, having only for five years enjoyed his father's dignity and estates, which then fell to Thomas, the second son, lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Uxbridge. That nobleman, together with his next brother, Charles, was deeply engaged in the cause of the Queen of Scots, and was attainted in 1587, and restored by James, immediately on his accession. Edward, the fourth son, died young. For the daughters, Etheldreda was married to Sir Christopher Allen; Joan, to Sir Thomas Kitson; Anne, to Sir Henry Lee; Eleanor, first to Jerome Palmer; secondly, to Sir Rowland Clerk; Dorothy, to Thomas, a son of Sir Henry Willoughby, of Wollaton, in Nottinghamshire; and Grizel, first to Sir Thomas Rivet, and then to Sir William Waldegrave.



Engraved by R. Cooper.

WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

OB. 1532.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

London Published Feb. 1 1824 by Harding, Mavor, & Lepard.

WILLIAM WARHAM,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

This very respectable divine, who seems to have owed to a placid and humble temper, and to an innocent and candid prudence, the imperfect tranquillity with which for a long series of years he held the highest ecclesiastical station, in a time the most inauspicious to churchmen, especially of his persuasion, was the eldest son of Robert Warham, a small gentleman, or yeoman, of Hampshire, by Elizabeth, his wife, and was born at Okeley, in that county, about the year 1456. He received the education requisite to fit him for the clerical profession, which at that time included the study of the civil law, in Winchester School, and at Winchester College, in Oxford, and was in 1475 admitted fellow of New College, where he soon after took the degree of Doctor of Laws. He quitted the university, in which he had held some reputable appointments, in 1488, with a high fame for his learning, and embraced the profession of an advocate in the Arches Court, in which he practised with much distinction and success. He became therefore, soon after his arrival, well known at the Court, for Henry the seventh delighted in civilians, and thought them of all others the best qualified for the management of niceties in affairs of state, particularly in those of foreign negotiation. Warham was accordingly sent, in 1493, with Sir Edward Poynings, on an embassy to Philip Duke of Burgundy, to persuade that Prince to withdraw his protection from the impostor, Perkin Warbeck, and discharged his mission so well, that Henry, on his return, appointed him Master of the Rolls. He sat in that office for nine years; a delay of preferment which was amply compensated for by the rapidity with which he afterwards rose to the

most exalted stations in Church and State; for on the eleventh of August, 1502, the Great Seal was delivered to him, as Lord Keeper; within a few weeks after he was placed in the See of London; on the first of the following January was appointed Lord Chancellor; and, in the ensuing March, translated to the Primacy. The favour of his master was marked by the unusual circumstances of pomp and ceremony attending his installation at Canterbury, in which Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, the mightiest peer of the realm, condescended to officiate in the character of his Steward of the Household. To these high offices was added the dignity of Chancellor of that University which had lent its aid to qualify him for them, to which he was elected on the twenty-eighth of May, 1506.

His royal patron dying not long after that period, a new master succeeded, and presently Wolsey, a new planet, or rather comet, in the sphere of English politics, appeared, and soon eclipsed all competitors for favour. The mild and sober character of Warham by no means fitted him for contention with one whose vivacity and ardour in the execution of his schemes were equal to the ambition and subtlety with which they had been projected. Wolsey began by infringing on the dignified distinctions of the Primacy, one of which was, that the cross of no other prelate should be elevated in the same place with that of the Archbishop of Canterbury; Wolsey, however, would have his cross of the See of York borne before him even in the presence of Warham; and it has been said, though improbably enough, that he procured for himself from the Pope his famous commission of Legate à latere for the sake of gaining precedency in that peculiar point, to which end his station of Cardinal was insufficient. He then invaded the Primate's prerogative by erecting a court at Whitehall, for the proving of wills under his separate authority; and at length invested himself, in a great measure, through the efficacy of his Legantine power, with the government of the Anglican Church, both in spiritual and temporal affairs. Warham remon-

strated to him in vain, and at last appealed to the King, by some exertion of whose authority Wolsey's violence was somewhat curbed, and his anger against Warham proportionately provoked. Two original expostulatory letters from the Primate to the Cardinal may be found in the Cotton collection, the one complaining, at great length, of Wolsey's interference with the Archbishop's jurisdiction in a particular case, of no public importance; the other, a brief and more general representation of various injuries. This latter seems to merit insertion here, not only as a specimen of Warham's epistolary style, which was of the best of his time, but because the profoundly respectful method of expression affords so remarkable a proof of the awe in which Wolsey was held, even by an outraged Metropolitan of England.

"Please it youre good Grace to understande, I am informed that your Grace intendithe to interrupte me in the use of the prorogatives in the whiche my predecessors and I, in the right of my church of Canterbury, hathe been possessed by priviledge, custume, and prescription, tyme out of mynde; and, for the interruption of the same, your Grace is mynded, as I am informed, to depute Doctour Alan; whiche if your Grace shulde do so (considering that not only all myne officers of my Courts th' Arches & th' Audience, but also the Commissarie of my diocesse of Kente, and I myself, not only in matiers of suite of instance of parteys, but also in causes of correction dependinge before me and them, be continually inhibited by your officers) I shulde have nothinge lefte for me and my officers to do, but shulde be as a shadoo and ymage of an Archbishop and Legate, void of auctoritie and jurisdiction, whiche shulde be to my perpetual reproche, and to my churche a perpetual prejudice. Wherefore, inasmuche as I truste verely in your great goodnes that youre Grace wool not be so extreme against me, and the right of my church beforenamed, I beseech your Grace, the premisses considered, to differ and respecte this matter tyll I may have communycation in this

behaulfe with your Grace, when it shall please youe, at youre leysure; and, youre pleasure knowne, I will be redy to give attendance on your Grace; beseching you also to give credence to my chapellaine, Maister Wellys, this berar, in suche matiers as he will shewe youre Grace on my behaulfe. At my manor at Croydon, the xvii day of Marche.

At youre Gracis commandment,

WILL~M CANTUAR."

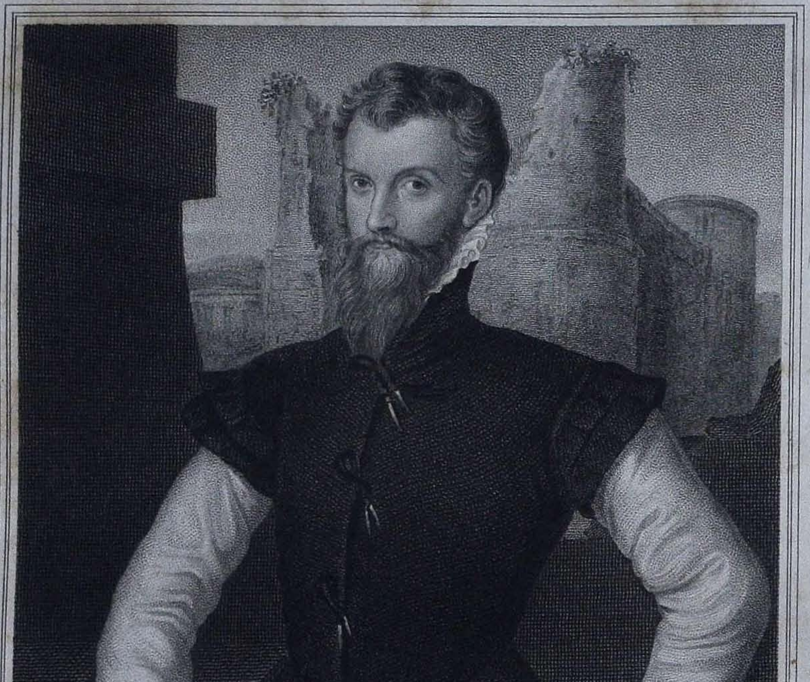
Wolsey, having perhaps abated somewhat of his persecution of Warham in ecclesiastical matters, attacked him next in his office of Chancellor. He had long been jealous of the interference of the Chancery with the authority of his Legantine Court, and his ambition readily suggested to him the most effectual remedy for the inconvenience. He became eager to possess the first lay office under the Crown, and the Archbishop, fatigued with contention, and advancing to old age, was easily prevailed on to gratify him, in the hope to purchase by this concession the quiet enjoyment for the remainder of his life of those rights, at least, of the Primacy which had no concern with matters of state. He resigned the Great Seal on the twenty-third of December, 1515, and the King immediately delivered it to the Cardinal. Warham now retired from all public business, except that of his church, and passed yet many years in his diocese, in a faithful discharge of all the duties of his high calling; in the enjoyment of private friendships, and in the cultivation and patronage of literature. He lived in the strictest intimacy with Erasmus, to whom he gave the rectory of Aldington, in Kent. They corresponded with the freedom of equals, and exchanged portraits with the affection of brothers. "Erasmus in one of his epistles," says Wood, "so commends him for humanity, learning, integrity, and piety, that in the conclusion he saith, 'nullam absoluti præsulis dotem in eo desideres.'" His liberality was unbounded, and his contempt of wealth almost blameable. He expended the immense sum of

thirty thousand pounds in repairing and adorning the different episcopal houses of his See, and left scarcely sufficient to pay his debts. When he lay on his death-bed, having occasion to enquire of his steward what money he had in his hands, and being answered only thirty pounds, he calmly replied, "satis viatici ad cœlum."

The main fault in his conduct, for which much might be pleaded in extenuation, considering the characters of the two masters whom he served, was a servile obsequiousness to their will on all occasions. When the question of the supremacy of Henry the eighth was propounded to the Convocation, and Cromwell had concluded his long argument for it, every mouth in that assembly was sealed by fear; when the Primate, after a short pause, declared that "silence was to be taken for consent," and reported the judgement of the Convocation accordingly. Bishop Burnet tells us that "his speeches in Parliament were sermons, begun with texts of Scripture, which he expounded, and applied to the business they were to go upon, stuffing them with the most fulsome flattery of the King that was possible." That historian however, in another part of his chief work, says of him, with much apparent fairness, that he was "a great canonist, an able statesman, a dextrous courtier, and a favourer of learned men: that he always hated Cardinal Wolsey, and would never stoop to him, esteeming it below the dignity of his see: that he was not so peevishly engaged to the learning of the schools as others were, but set up and encouraged a more generous way of knowledge; yet that he was a severe persecutor of those whom he thought heretics, and inclined to believe idle and fanatical people, as appeared in the matter of the Maid of Kent." The truth is that, as the character of Archbishop Warham wanted those bold features which history so readily records, it has been hitherto but slightly touched on. As a churchman, he seems to have been pious and sincere; zealous for the persuasion in which he had been bred, and occasionally proving that zeal in instances of

intolerant severity: as a statesman, rather esteemed for honesty and experience than for acuteness: as a judge, laborious in his attention to the business of his Court, and pure in his administration of justice: as a man, mild, cheerful, affable, and benevolent. If we may not reckon him with the greatest, he may certainly be esteemed among the best, public men of the age in which he flourished. He died on the twenty-third of August, 1532, in the house of his nephew, William Warham, Archdeacon of Canterbury, at Hackington, near that city; and was buried with the most simple privacy in a small chapel, which he had built in his cathedral for that purpose.

A tradition exists, too ancient, and too respectable, to admit of reasonable doubt, that the fine picture from which the present engraving was made was presented by Holbein to the Archbishop, inclosed in the identical frame in which it yet remains.



Engraved by W. Freeman.

EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

OB. 1556.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

London, Published June 1, 1824, by Harding, Mavor, & Lepard.

EDWARD COURTENAY,

EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

We view the circumstances of this Nobleman's short life through the mists of fear and prejudice. An unhappy fatality, as it might seem, had connected him, even from the hour of his birth, with the highest public considerations, in a time peculiarly marked by cruelty and suspicion. Many who knew the truth of his story, and might have been inclined to tell it with fidelity, shrunk probably from so hazardous a disclosure, and remained nearly silent. Of those who have touched on it more at large, some seem to have been confined by party spirit, and others by an authority not unwelcome to their religious and political bigotry, to the relation of a few facts which tend rather to excite curiosity than to afford information. Even from them, however, we are enabled to infer with accuracy that he was accomplished, innocent, and miserable.

His misfortunes originated solely in his illustrious descent. His father, Henry Courtenay, tenth Earl of Devonshire of his family, whose mother was the Princess Catherine, daughter of King Edward the fourth, had been one of the ephemeral favourites of Henry VIII. who, having advanced him to the title of Marquis of Exeter, caused him a few years after, to be accused of high treason, in having corresponded by letter with his banished kinsman, Cardinal Pole; convicted without proof, and beheaded. His mother, Gertrude, daughter of William Blount, Lord Montjoy, was in the following year, by a monstrous perversion of law, attainted without trial, but her life was spared. Edward, their only son, the subject of this Memoir, was born about the year 1526, and, immediately after the death of his father, though then

only twelve years of age, was committed to the Tower, "lest he should raise commotions," says the author of the History of the Courtenay Family, "by revenging his father's quarrel." Thus dreadfully do injustice and fear ever attend and aggravate each other. He remained there, painful to relate, a close prisoner, for fifteen years. The clemency usually ascribed to the reign of Edward VI. which indeed owes the reputation of mildness and justice merely to a comparison with the deeper horrors of that which preceded it, afforded him no relief. He was even one of the six persons who were specially excepted from the general pardon granted at Edward's coronation. Mary, however, immediately after her accession visited his prison, where this unfortunate young man, together with the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner, and the Duchess of Somerset, presented themselves to her on their knees upon Tower Hill, when she kindly raised and kissed them, saying, "these be my prisoners;" and on the third of September, 1558, exactly one month afterwards, restored to him the Earldom of Devonshire, by a new patent of creation, together with such of his father's great estates as had not yet been granted away by the Crown. Prince, in his "Worthies of Devon," and some others, add that the dignity of Marquis of Exeter was also at the same time revived in him, but this is an error.

Mary's benignity towards him has been so generally ascribed by historians to a personal affection that the fact can scarcely be doubted. Fuller, whose words I quote for the sake of conciseness, and who ought never to be quoted unless his account be supported, as it is in great measure in this instance, by the testimony of more cautious writers, tells us, in his "Holy State," that "this most noble young Earl was a person of lovely aspect; of a beautiful body, sweet nature, and royal descent: all which concurring in him, the Queen cast an obliging countenance upon him, and, as it was generally conceived, intended him an husband for herself; of which report hath handed down to us this confirmation: that when the said Earl petitioned the Queen for leave

to travel, she advised him rather to marry, ensuring him that no lady in the land, how high soever, would refuse him for an husband; and, urging him to make his choice where he pleased, she pointed herself out unto him as plainly as might consist with the modesty of a maiden, and the majesty of a Queen." Others, with much improbability, add that he was one of the persons recommended to her by her Privy Council among whom to choose a husband. Bishop Godwyn, a historian of deserved credit, and who was then in existence, says, according to Kennett's translation, that "there were three at that time allotted by common fame for her choice: Philip, Prince of Spain; Cardinal Reginald Pole; and Courtenay, Marquis of Exeter," (for so the Bishop always styles him). "The two latter had their country, and the splendor of their ancestors, to recommend them; and there were hopes that under either of them the liberty and privileges of the kingdom would be preserved. Affinity of blood was respected in them all. Pole was much in the Queen's affection for his gravity and holy life, joined with the greatest courtesy and prudence; and Courtenay for his youth, good humour, and his courtly address; but some suspicions were raised against the latter as if he favoured the reformation."

The correctness of the report that he had made a tender impression on the heart of Mary is here rather favoured than opposed. Those who have delivered it down to us add, that he treated her advances with indifference, because he was warmly attached to her sister Elizabeth. Burnet seems to have believed the whole, for he says, in the History of the Reformation, "The new Earl of Devonshire was much in her favour, so that it was thought she had some inclinations to marry him; but he, either not presuming so high, or really having an aversion to her, and an inclination to her sister, who of that moderate share of beauty that was between them had much the better of her, and was nineteen years younger, made his addresses with more than ordinary concern to the Lady Elizabeth, and this did bring them

both into trouble." Sir Thomas Wyat, on the contrary, when he was taken prisoner, accused the Earl of having engaged in his conspiracy, in resentment of the Queen's having refused to take him for her husband; and of a consequent design to depose her, and obtain the throne by marrying Elizabeth; and upon this charge both the Princess and the Earl were committed to the same prison from which he had been only six months before released Wyat, however, when he was led to execution, confessed that he had invented it in the hope of saving his life, and intreated that he might be conducted to the apartment of the Earl of Devonshire, which being permitted, he besought the Earl, on his knees, to pardon the wicked slander which he had falsely uttered. Several respectable writers, following Fox, whose partiality is seldom considered with sufficient caution, say that Gardiner, in his malice to Elizabeth, contrived this interview, and then reported to the Council that Wyat had solicited it for the purpose of exhorting the Earl to confess his guilt, and that of the Princess. But Wyat, on the scaffold, (and here I will use not only Fox's words, but his authority, for he durst not have stated falsely what had been so lately proclaimed in the hearing perhaps of thousands), told the people, "Whereas it is noised abroad that I should accuse the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtenay, it is not so, good people; for I will assure you that neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold, were privy to my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the Queen and Council, and it is most true."

The Earl was detained in the Tower till the twenty-fifth of May, 1554, when he was removed in the night to Fotheringhay Castle, in Northamptonshire, and there still kept in close imprisonment till the spring of the following year; when Philip, to gain popularity among his new subjects, for the view which we have of his character allows no hope of a better motive, procured the enlargement of the Earl, as well as of the Princess, who was at that time confined in the royal house of Woodstock. The

miserable Courtenay, conscious that he should ever remain an object of suspicion, made the first use of that liberty which he had so little known to implore the Queen's permission to quit England: which having obtained, he travelled through France and Italy, and at length determined to sit down at Padua, in the fruitless hope of passing there in quiet the remainder of a life which had hitherto been distinguished by the most undeserved and unexampled persecution. Within a few weeks however after his arrival, he was seized by a distemper which, within fourteen days from its first appearance, carried him off, on the fourth of October, 1556, not without strong, and probably well-founded, suspicion of poison, administered at the instigation of emissaries from the land which had given him his ill-fated birth. He was buried in the Church of St. Anthony, in Padua, where a superb monument remains, or lately remained, to his memory, with the following uncouth inscription, which I insert because it affords, from a somewhat singular source, a corroboration of some of the most important circumstances of a story involved in much uncertainty, and frequently disfigured by wilful misrepresentation.

"Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura patronum,
Corteneum celsa hæc continet arca Ducem.
Credita causa necis Regni affectata cupido,
Reginæ optatum tunc quoque connubium:
Cui regni proceres non consensere, Philippo
Reginam Regi jungere posse rati.
Europam unde fuit juveni peragrare necesse,
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si plorat defuncto principe tanto
Nil mirum; domino deficit illa pio.
Sed jam Cortenius cælo, fruiturque beatis:
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant.
Cortenei probitas igitur, præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit hoc Templum vivida semper erunt.
Anglia hinc etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni,
Conjugii optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo juvenes, præcipitatque senes."

EDWARD COURTENAY, EARL OF DEVONSHIRE.

The elder male line of the great House of Courtenay became extinct by the death of this young nobleman, and the remains, still considerable, of its vast estates fell by inheritance to the heirs of the four sisters of his great grandfather, who had married into the ancient western families of Tretherf, Arundel of Talverne, Mohun, and Trelawny.

Engraved by T. Blood.

SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND,

OF LETHINGTON.

OB. 1573.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Sept. 1, 1824.

SIR WILLIAM MAITLAND,

OF LETHINGTON.

THIS was the eminent person whom Camden, and several other writers, in treating of the affairs of Scotland in his time, designate by the appellation of "Lidington," a corruption of "Lethington," the denomination of his estate, by which, according to the usage of his country, he was commonly called. In an age when his native realm was not more distinguished by bravery in war than by ignorance of the arts of government he stood alone a most profound and subtle politician. He was the eldest son of Sir Richard Maitland, of Lethington, by Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Cranstoun, and was heir to a large patrimony, but the peculiar character of his mind unfitted him for the enjoyment not only of the simple comforts but of the proudest distinctions of private life. Stratagem and secrecy were the darling objects of his study, nor was ambition wanting to spur him on to the constant exertion of those inclinations. He had appeared at an early age in the Court of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, widow of James the Fifth, where he gave such proofs of his talents for the management of public affairs that in 1558 she chose him for her principal secretary. It was towards the close of that year that she declared her resolution to oppose the progress of the reformation in Scotland, and in the winter of the following, Maitland, who, in addition to being a protestant, had disgusted her by contradicting the counsels of the French by whom she was surrounded, withdrew himself from her service, and joined the Lords of the Congregation, as the leaders of the reformers began now to be called, by whom he was dispatched to London to implore the aid of Elizabeth to a cause which they were endeavouring, with

various success, to support by force of arms. The request was gladly granted: the Duke of Norfolk was deputed to Berwick, to negotiate on the part of his mistress with the congregation; and a treaty, for which Maitland was a commissioner, was concluded in that town on the twenty-seventh of February, 1559, O. S. In the ensuing spring Elizabeth sent a fleet and army to Scotland, and her interference presently turned the scale in favour of the reformers. The remarkable siege of Leith; the consequent treaty of Edinburgh; and the death of the Queen Regent; were events which succeeded within a very few months: they were speedily followed by the departure of Francis the second of France, and the arrival of his widow, the beauteous and ill-fated Mary Stuart, to mount the throne of her ancestors.

The commencement of her reign was distinguished by studied concessions to the protestants. She restored Maitland to the post of secretary; but the favour which perhaps was thus bestowed on him through policy soon found stronger motives in her discovery of the perfection of his talents for that office, and in the effect of an infinite address with which he had successfully sought to cultivate her personal esteem. He became a favourite, and had for a long time the singular good fortune to enjoy at once the unlimited confidence of the crown and of the people. The difficulty of Mary's affairs with England was necessarily the first object of her attention, and to him alone she entrusted the management of them. Soon after her accession she sent him ambassador to Elizabeth, with whom he had to treat on that most delicate subject the pretensions of his mistress to the inheritance of the English throne. To those who have studied Elizabeth's character it is needless to say that such a mission must have been unsuccessful, but the ability which he displayed in it, and the penetration of his views of the policy and characters of her ministers, convinced Mary that she had not erred in her choice. She dispatched him therefore again, in 1563, to press Elizabeth to a personal interview with her, in the North of England, and he

again failed. On his return he found the Queen persecuted by a church more intolerant, and more perilous to the interests of Princes who denied its doctrines, than that of Rome. The leaders of that infant schism which had then assumed the name of the Kirk not only sought to deny to Mary the private exercise of her own religion, but were inculcating with vehemence the right of the people to resist their rulers. Maitland, artfully avoiding the former topic, attacked the succeeding position in the general assembly with admirable skill and eloquence, and concluded by accusing the notorious Knox of sedition. A debate ensued the reputation of which is yet cherished by the Scots of either persuasion: "It admirably displayed," says the accurate and elegant Robertson, "the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of Maitland, embellished with learning, but prone to subtlety; the vigorous understanding of Knox, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."

In the spring of 1565 he was once more sent to London, to solicit the consent of Elizabeth to Mary's marriage with Darnley. It was refused, and he returned to Scotland with Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, whom Elizabeth instantly dispatched thither to protest against it in her name. Mary, enraged at this answer to a message which she had intended as little more than a compliment, sent orders to Maitland, when on his way to her court, to return without delay to London; to reproach Elizabeth with malice and duplicity; and to declare that his mistress was now determined that she would suffer no opinion but that of her own subjects to interfere with her choice. Maitland disobeyed, and repaired to her presence; convinced her of the evils likely to arise from so rude and rash a defiance; and received her pardon and her thanks. At this period commenced the follies, the crimes, and the miseries, of the unhappy Mary. In the deliberations on her future fate, held during her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, in 1567, he exerted himself to the utmost to save to her, under certain restrictions, the possession of the Crown; and

when the Earl of Murray, lately appointed Regent, was summoned by Elizabeth in the following year to meet her commissioners at York, and justify the deposition of his Sovereign, Maitland, who was too firm a friend to her cause to be left with safety in Scotland, was unwillingly admitted by him into the number of his assistants.

The Duke of Norfolk was placed at the head of Elizabeth's commission, and it was during the progress of this mighty enquiry that the first steps were taken in that project for his marriage with the Queen of Scots which in the end cost him his life. To Maitland, as the most firm adherent to Mary, and perhaps the most acute man in Scotland, he first opened his design. The secretary received it with the warmest approbation, and presently invested it with the form and substance of a profound plan of policy. It was communicated with caution to the Regent; negotiations were privately commenced in England to secure to it the countenance of the most powerful among the nobility; the great business at York was interrupted, and its method changed, by means unknown to the rest of those intrusted to conduct it; and Elizabeth for a time saw herself in danger of disappointment, without being able to divine the cause. A matter however divulged to so many could not be long concealed from her. Murray, to whom of all others it was least likely to be beneficial, probably betrayed it to her soon after his return to Scotland, where Maitland, undismayed by the failure of one plan to undermine the Regent's authority, and weaken his party, now struck out with renewed vigour into the execution of others. No longer employed in the government, and odious to the ruling faction, he retired into Perth, to the seat of the Earl of Athol, a devoted supporter of Mary's interests, from whence he negotiated, by his emissaries, with Murray's friends, and seduced several from their adherence to him. The Regent at length foresaw in Maitland's liberty the extinction of his own power, and, having decoyed him to Stirling, procured a retainer of the Earl of Lenox

to accuse him to the Privy Council of being a party in the murder of Darnley. He was sent in the autumn of 1569 a prisoner to Edinburgh, where Kirkaldy of Grange, who was governor of the castle, a person deeply concerned in the most remarkable public transactions of his time, and one of those whom Maitland had secretly gained over to the Queen's party, detached him, as it is said by counterfeiting Murray's signature to a warrant, from the persons to whose charge he had been committed, and took him into his own custody in the castle. This friendly aid prevented his being brought to an immediate trial, the fatal issue to him of which was evident; and Murray, who for some private reasons suffered Kirkaldy's conduct to pass unresented, was within a few weeks after assassinated by a private enemy.

Maitland was acquitted by a provisional council of nobles who had assembled to elect a Regent, and, on regaining his freedom, again plunged instantly into the political confusion of the state. He now laboured to accomplish a junction of the two contending factions, and at length, hopeless of restoring Mary to the plenitude of her regal power, proposed that she should be admitted to the sovereignty jointly with her infant son, who, on her deposition, had been placed on the vacant throne. To this end he, in concert with Kirkaldy, procured a conference between the leaders of the hostile parties, which broke up in tumultuous indecision. It was a critical hour for Maitland. He found himself obliged to declare openly for the Queen, or for her son, and, with little deliberation, because the circumstances of the time scarcely allowed room for any, at length appeared publicly for the former, and joined in issuing a proclamation, asserting her authority in bold and explicit terms. In the mean time the Earl of Lenox, father of the murthered Darnley, was chosen Regent by the opposite party, aided by the influence of Elizabeth, and one of the first acts of his authority was to deprive Maitland of the office of secretary, and to proclaim him a traitor. The rage of contention was

now at the highest pitch: each party had an army under the walls of Edinburgh, and each, at the same time, held a Parliament, the one in that city, the other at Stirling: the assembly which acted under that title on the behalf of the King, in spite of Kirkaldy, who was not only governor of the castle, but provost of the town, passed an act of attainder against many of its opponents, in which Maitland was included.

These matters occurred in 1570, and the succeeding year, towards the close of which the Regent Lenox was killed at Stirling in a furious and romantic surprise of that town by Kirkaldy. The Earl of Mar, a nobleman of excellent character, whose endeavours to promote concord had procured him universal esteem, was chosen by the King's adherents to succeed him. In that spirit he opened a treaty with Maitland and Kirkaldy, in which all the parties seem to have been actuated by a sincere desire to heal the wounds of their country, and it was on the point of conclusion when the subtle and unprincipled ambition of the Earl of Morton rendered it abortive. Morton, a bitter enemy to Mary, a purchased friend to Elizabeth, and a disappointed candidate for the regency, at length obtained that office on the twenty-ninth of October, 1572, on the demise of Mar, who is said to have died of a broken heart. He held Maitland in the utmost abhorrence, but a secret wish to separate more widely the Queen's party, which was already somewhat disunited, induced him to renew with Maitland and his friends the negotiation which himself had interrupted with Mar. Maitland was then deeply engaged in forming a plan for the escape of his mistress from the captivity in which the fears and the injustice of Elizabeth had so long retained her. He agreed to the treaty with the view of making it subservient to his design, but Morton, his rival in subtlety and penetration, as well as in the love of political rule, discovered his motive, and determined on his ruin. Maitland now shut himself up with Kirkaldy in the castle of Edinburgh, to which Morton, with the aid of English troops, laid close siege,

and, after prodigies of valour performed by the gallant defenders, reduced it on the twenty-ninth of May, 1573. Kirkaldy and Maitland surrendered to Sir William Drury, who commanded Elizabeth's troops, under a solemn engagement that their lives should be spared; but the former was shortly after hanged at the Cross in Edinburgh, and Maitland, who could found no hope of mercy but on his share in a promise already so scandalously broken, is said to have died by his own hand on the ninth of the succeeding month.

The political conduct of this extraordinary person has usually been taxed, it is difficult to discover on what grounds, with a selfish and sordid versatility. He appears, on the contrary, to have been the only public man of his country who remained invariably attached to the interests of Mary. Archbishop Spotswood, a warm friend to the contrary party, says, "a man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whose counsels were held in that time for oracles; but variable and inconstant; turning and changing from one faction to another, as he thought it to make for his standing. This did greatly diminish his reputation, and failed him at last, &c." Dr. Robertson, in the following passage, gives us his character probably with more candour—"Maitland had early applied to public business admirable natural talents, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and at a time of life when his countrymen of the same quality were following the pleasures of the chace, or serving as adventurers in the armies of France, he was admitted into all the secrets of the cabinet, and put upon a level with persons of the most consummate experience in the management of affairs. He possessed in an eminent degree that intrepid spirit which delights in pursuing bold designs, and was no less master of that political dexterity which is necessary for carrying them on with success: but these qualities were deeply tinctured with the neighbouring vices: his address degenerated sometimes into cunning; his acuteness bordered upon excess; his invention, over fertile, suggested to

him on some occasions chimerical systems of policy too refined for the genius of his age or country; and his enterprising spirit engaged him in projects vast and splendid, but beyond his utmost power to execute. All the cotemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration which nothing could have excited but the greatest superiority of penetration and abilities."

Sir William Maitland was twice married; first, to Janet Menteth, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Mary, daughter of Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, who brought him an only son, James, in whom this line of the family became extinct. From Sir John Maitland, next and younger brother to the subject of the preceding sketch, who attained to the office of High Chancellor of Scotland, and was created Lord Maitland by James the sixth, the Earls of Lauderdale are descended.

8

Engraved by W. Holl.

HENRY FITZALAN, EARL OF ARUNDEL.

OB. 1580.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HOLBEIN, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF BATH.

Published Sept. 1, 1824, by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square London.

HENRY FITZALAN,

EARL OF ARUNDEL.

THE first attempt is now made to bring into one view the dispersed relics of this very eminent person's story. In searching for them, regret has been excited at every step by evident presumptions that innumerable circumstances of that story have been long lost in utter oblivion. In the life of a man of exalted rank, not less distinguished by the vigour of his talents than by his honesty and high spirit; continually in the service of the Crown, under four Monarchs the characters of whose minds and tempers, and the policy of whose governments, were dissimilar even to opposition; devoted with the most faithful and unbending resolution to a religion which he saw alternately cherished and proscribed by those Princes, professed and abjured by his compeers; what interesting facts must have occurred! what dangers must he not have encountered, what difficulties must he not have surmounted? Those curiosities, however, have been sacrificed to the dulness or the timidity of the historians of the seventeenth century, and little remains of him but an outline which it is now too late to endeavour to fill up.

Henry Fitzalan, the last Earl of Arundel of his family, was born in 1512, the only son of William, the ninth Earl, by Anne, second daughter of Henry, fourth Earl of Northumberland of the Percys. He had passed the age of thirty before he succeeded, on his father's death, to the titles and great estates of his ancestors, and his life had been till then confined, according to the rule of domestic subordination which generally prevailed in that time, to the sports of the field, and the festivities, and warlike exercises of the Court. In the summer however of the following

year, 1544, he attended Henry in his splendid voyage to Boulogne, and was appointed, on his arrival there, Field Marshal of the army then employed in the remarkable siege of that town, under the command of Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The success of the enterprize was at least completed by his vigilance and courage. In the night of the eleventh of September, after the siege had been carried on for six weeks, he marched the squadron committed to his charge close under the walls, and there awaited the event of a furious discharge of cannon which played on them over his head. It proved fortunate: a breach was effected: and he, at the head of his troops, first entered the town, which two days after capitulated. The King rewarded this service by a grant of the Government of Calais, and of the office of Comptroller of the Royal Household. Henry loved bravery, but he loved yet better implicit obedience, of which he received shortly after from this nobleman a remarkable proof. He had been appointed, with others, to negotiate a treaty with the Scots, the terms proposed for which had received the unanimous approbation of the Council, but were secretly disliked by the King. Henry, unwilling to disoblige his ministers, permitted them to write in his name to the Earl to conclude the treaty, but in the same hour commanded Cecil, whom he had lately received into much confidence, to repair privately to the Earl, in Scotland, and to tell him that, whatsoever he, the King, had ordered by his letter, it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should immediately break up the treaty. Cecil observing to the King, to use the words of my author, "that a message by word of mouth, being contrary to his letter, would never be believed; 'well,' said the King, 'do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing of it to his own choice.' Upon Mr. Cecil's arrival, the Earl of Arundel shewed the other commissioners as well the message as the letter: they are all for the letter. He said nothing, but ordered that the message should be written, and signed by his fellow commissioners; and thereupon immediately broke up the treaty, sending Cecil with the

advertisement of it to the King, who, as soon as he saw him, asked aloud—'what, will he do it, or no?' Cecil replied that his Majesty might understand that by the inclosed: but then the King, half angry, urged—'nay, tell me, will he do it, or no?' Being then told it was done, he turned to the Lords, and said 'now you will hear news, the fine treaty is broken;' whereto one presently answered that he who had broke it deserved to lose his head; to which the King straitly replied that he would lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged rather than one such servant as had done it, and therewith commanded the Earl of Arundel's pardon should be presently drawn up, the which he sent, with letters of thanks, and assurance of favour." Henry, soon after his return, appointed him Lord Chamberlain, and, in his last moments, which indeed were then approaching, distinguished him by naming him one of the guardians of the infant successor.

In the great conflict for power between Seymour and Dudley which agitated the following reign it was scarcely possible for any eminent person connected with the State or Court to remain neuter. The Earl of Arundel, who continued Lord Chamberlain, seems to have endeavoured to keep that course for a time, but at length joined the faction of Warwick, and when the first storm broke out against the Protector was appointed, partly from confidence, and in some measure in consideration of his high office in the household, one of the six Lords under whose care, or rather in whose custody, the King was placed, to frustrate any attempt by the other party to seize his person. It was not possible however that two such men should remain long united. The grand features of Warwick's disposition were an ambition wholly unprincipled, and a violence of temper which broke through all the bounds of prudence; while Arundel, to use the words of Sir John Hayward, perhaps the only writer of credit who has left us any glimpse of the character of his mind, was "in his nature circumspect and slow," as well as of undoubted probity. Scarcely

three months had passed, when the Earl was suddenly deprived of his post, and of his seat in the Privy Council, and strange accusations, which have been most obscurely recorded, were preferred against him, and some other great men. All that we can learn on this head is that he was charged with "having taken away bolts and locks at Westminster" (probably meaning from the palace, where Edward was in a manner imprisoned) and that he "had given away the King's stuff." The tribunal, probably the packed remains of Warwick's Council, which affected to take cognizance of these alledged offences, committed him for a time to the Tower, fined him in twelve thousand pounds, to be paid at the rate of one thousand pounds yearly, and afterwards banished him to one of his country seats. "Doubtless," says Hayward on this head, "the Earl of Warwick had good reason to suspect that they who had the honesty not to approve his purpose would not want the heart to oppose against it."

The Earl of Arundel retired accordingly, and lived in privacy till the King's death, soon after which he appeared among the foremost of the supporters of Mary's title to the Crown; yet Jane Grey, under the advice of her father-in-law, Dudley, now Duke of Northumberland, who was perhaps willing to magnify her strength by concealing her weakness, charged those to whom she wrote to levy forces for the furtherance of her claim to make no application to the servants and tenants of Arundel, "relying on them otherwise for her service." The Earl, however, appeared presently after at the great meeting of Mary's friends at Baynard's Castle, and addressed them with a fervour of eloquence and reasoning which has preserved at least the substance of his speech from oblivion. "In this assembly," says Hayward, "the Earl of Arundel fell foul upon Northumberland with the utmost severity. He ran over the history of the late times, and, reckoning up every act of mismanagement, cruelty, and injustice, committed in King Edward the sixth's reign, threw the odium of all upon him only. Then he made expostulating complaints that the children of

Henry the eighth should, contrary to all right, be thrust from the succession, and professed himself amazed to think how Northumberland had brought such great and noble persons, meaning those present, to so mean servitude as to be made the tools of his wicked designs; for it was by their consent and assistance that the Crown was put upon the daughter of Suffolk, the same Northumberland's daughter-in-law, the sovereignty in fact remaining in him of exercising the most uncontroulable rage and tyranny over their lives and fortunes. To accomplish this usurpation indeed the cause of religion was pretended; but, though they had forgot the Apostle's advice, 'not to do evil that good may follow; and to obey even bad Princes, not out of fear, but for conscience' sake;' yet who, he asked, had seen cause to think that in matters of religion Queen Mary intended any alteration? for, when she was lately addressed about this in Suffolk, she had (which indeed was true) given a very fair satisfactory answer; and 'what a madness is it,' says he, 'for men to throw themselves into certain destruction, to avoid uncertain danger. I heartily wish there had been no such transgression; but, since there has, the best remedy for a past error is a timely repentance; wherefore it is my advice that we all join our utmost endeavours, that so, by our authority, Mary, the rightful and undoubted heiress of these kingdoms, may be proclaimed Queen."

The accession of that Princess to the throne without bloodshed may perhaps be reasonably ascribed to this well-timed harangue, and to the vigour and good judgement with which the Earl pursued the course which he had so warmly advised. The assembly, wound up to a pitch of enthusiasm, rose, and instantly accompanied him into the city, where, having obtained the attendance of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they proclaimed Mary with universal applause. This done, he took horse the same evening; rode into Suffolk, where she was then awaiting the issue of the contest, to communicate the tidings, and receive

her commands; and, on the following day, personally arrested the Duke of Northumberland at Cambridge, and led him, a prisoner, towards the Tower of London. It is astonishing that such mighty measures should have been proposed and executed in the space of three days; but the whole was actually accomplished on the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first, of July, 1553.

Mary acknowledged these eminent services with becoming gratitude; distinguished him during her short reign by the most perfect confidence; and bestowed on him the offices of President of her Council, and Steward of her Household. He was also elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford soon after her accession, a dignity which he of course resigned on the re-establishment of the Protestant Church by Elizabeth. He was not less favoured however by that Princess, who continued him in the post of Lord Steward, and complimented the high antiquity of his name and titles with the exalted appointments of High Constable, and High Steward, of England, at her coronation. He was even one among the few of her eminent subjects who flattered themselves, and had in all probability been flattered by her, with the hope of gaining her hand. It should seem indeed that he had explicitly offered himself, and been rejected; for Dugdale, quoting, I believe erroneously, Camden, says, "having fed himself with hopes of obtaining Queen Elizabeth for his wife, and failing therein, after he had spent much upon these vain imaginations, his friends in Court failing him, he grew troubled in mind, and thereupon, to wear off the grief, got leave to travel. This happened in 1561. How long he now remained abroad does not appear, but he was in London in December 1565, when he again obtained a licence to leave England, and went soon after into Italy, where he seems to have sojourned for four years. In his long absence from his own country he contracted a great fondness for foreign fashions, several of which, on his return, he introduced here, particularly the use of coaches, the first of which ever seen in England was kept by himself.

He seems to have been entirely disengaged from public affairs till the year 1569, when he was appointed one of the Commissioners to enquire into the murther of Henry, King of Scotland, of which he avowed his opinion that Mary was innocent. His generous nature loathed the snares with which Elizabeth and her ministers surrounded that unhappy Princess, and, in a debate in the Privy Council on the suggestion of some new artifice against her, he had the boldness to say, in the Queen's presence, that "the wisdom of the former age was so provident that it needed not, and so plain that it endured not, such shifts." That which was called Mary's party now reckoned on his uniform support, but his sense of loyalty and justice was as pure as his frankness and impartiality, and when Leicester imparted to him the plan secretly formed for a marriage between the Queen of Scots and the Duke of Norfolk, whose first lady was Arundel's daughter, he declared that he would oppose it to the utmost, unless it were previously sanctioned by Elizabeth's consent. His intercourse, however, with Mary's friends rendered him an object of suspicion, and in 1572 he suffered a short imprisonment in the Tower, after which he sunk gradually in his mistress's favour, and at length wholly lost it by his determined opposition to her matrimonial treaty with the Duke of Anjou. From that time to his death he remained in retirement. "About the beginning of this year," says Camden, in his annals of Elizabeth, 1580, "Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, rendered his soul to God, in whom was extinct the surname of this most noble family, which had flourished with great honour for three hundred years, and more, from the time of Richard Fitzalan, who, being descended from the Albeneys, ancient Earls of Arundel and Sussex in the reign of Edward the first, received the title of Earl, without any creation, in regard of his being possessed of the Castle and Honour of Arundel." He married, first, Catherine, daughter of Thomas Grey, second Marquis of Dorset, by whom he had three children, all of whom he outlived; Henry, who died at Brussels, young, and

MAHARAJA BERFOOT'S ...

unmarried; Joan, married to John, Lord Lumley; and Mary, to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, in right of descent from whose son, Philip, first Earl of Arundel of the Howards, the present Duke of Norfolk enjoys that remarkable Earldom, under the tenure so clearly stated by Camden in the foregoing passage, which I have inserted for the sake of elucidating a frequently disputed point. His second lady was Mary, daughter of Sir John Arundel, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, and widow of Robert Radclyffe, Earl of Sussex, by whom he had no issue.

8

Engraved by R. Cooper.

JAMES DOUGLAS, EARL OF MORTON.

OB. 1581.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE^ THE EARL OF MORTON.

Published Oct. 1 1824, by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London.

JAMES DOUGLAS,

FOURTH EARL OF MORTON.

JAMES DOUGLAS, third Earl of Morton, having no male issue, obtained, on the twenty-second of April, 1543, a royal charter intailing his Earldom, and the chief of his estates, on the youngest of his three daughters, Elizabeth, and her husband, James, second son of Sir George Douglas, brother to Archibald Earl of Angus, by Elizabeth, daughter and heir of David Douglas, of Pittendreath, and their heirs male. In right of that settlement James, on the death of his father-in-law in 1553, succeeded to the dignity. He will be the subject of this memoir.

The enmity of James the Fifth of Scotland to the great House of Angus, and its causes, are well known to all readers of the history of that country. In the year 1529, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George, were declared guilty of high treason: their great estates were forfeited, and they fled, with their families, to England, where they remained for fourteen years. Under these untoward circumstances, the education of James, then a boy, is said to have been almost wholly neglected. He was committed to the care of a trusty person of inferior rank; assumed the name of Innes; and, as he approached to manhood, was engaged to serve in the household of some person of quality in the capacity of steward, or chamberlain. The King's death, at the close of the year 1542, withdrew him from this seclusion; he returned to Scotland with his relations, and having made the advantageous match which has been already mentioned, took on himself, according to the custom of the country, the designation of Master of Morton. His expectations at this period were peculiarly lofty. He was nearly related to royalty, both in his blood

and by his marriage, and his capacious and haughty mind, however uncultivated, was amply impressed by the importance of his station.

His entrance into public life seemed to be marked by ill fortune, but chance, or his own dexterity, or both, turned it to his advantage. On the invasion of his country by the English in 1544 he garrisoned, and bravely defended, the castle of Dalkeith, one of the mansions of his family, and probably his place of residence; but in a similar endeavour in 1547, after the defeat of Musselborough, was compelled to surrender it, and was himself led by the victorious Earl of Hertford to England, where he remained a prisoner of war for several years. During that period it has been said that he formed intimacies, and made engagements, which at length bound him to forward the views of this country in Scotland, and that he was placed on the height to which he afterwards attained rather by the predominant influence of the English Crown than by the power of his own family, or the extent of his talents. For a considerable time however after his return he lived in utter privacy, applying himself to those studies which had been denied to his youth, and to the improvement of his dilapidated estates; nor was it till 1559 that he emerged from his retirement, when he suddenly stood forward as a patron of the reformers, and enrolled himself among those persons of quality who then took on themselves the style of "Lords of the Congregation." In the following year the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise, expired, and the Parliament, which provisionally assumed the government, dispatched him, together with the Earl of Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, on an embassy to Elizabeth, by whom they were most graciously received, and in this visit to her court Morton's attachment to the English interest was probably confirmed.

On the arrival of Mary Stuart from France, in 1561, he was sworn of her Privy Council, and early in 1563, succeeded George, Earl of Huntly, in the office of Lord High Chancellor. He had

gained no small degree of favour with Mary by his approbation of her match with Darnley, though it arose from motives of pride and interest, for Darnley was his relation: on the other hand, his connection with Murray, the leader of the reformers, who had been exiled for his fierce opposition to it, rendered him an object of her suspicion. The affections of Mary regarding him were thus balanced when the assassination of Rizzio in 1566 drew down on him her most deadly hatred. That enormity was the result of a regular treaty between the King and Morton, by which the former had agreed to defend the reformed religion, and to procure a pardon for Murray and his associates; and the Earl, on his part, to secure Henry's succession to the sovereign authority in the event of his surviving the Queen, and to contrive and superintend the murther of the unworthy favourite; and this he did, even in person, for he led the armed force which surrounded the palace during the perpetration of it. Rizzio was scarcely dead, when Murray, and the other exiled Lords, recalled, as has been just now observed, at the instance of Morton, arrived at Edinburgh. Mary, anxious to oppose them to the King's faction, received them as friends, and they, in an affectation of gratitude to Morton, besought her to promise him her pardon. She yielded to their request, and even admitted him to her presence, but was secretly inexorable, and on the very same day persuaded the weak and worthless Darnley to abandon the guilty instrument of his vengeance; to fly privately with her to Dunbar; and there to collect a military force, for the purpose of wresting the capital from Morton and his party, and of sacrificing them to her anger. Murray, tempted by her promises, as readily deserted his benefactor; and Morton, deprived of his great office, and presently after of his estates, once more took refuge in England.

His exile was short. Bothwell, now unhappily the object of Mary's partiality, sought the aid of all parties to the wild design he secretly entertained of sharing with her the Throne. The power, the talents, and the courage of Morton, and perhaps the

readiness with which he had so lately undertaken a base and horrible assassination, combined to recommend him; and Bothwell, to whom Mary could then deny nothing, obtained his pardon with little difficulty; communicated to him the dreadful project which had been conceived to destroy the King, and solicited his advice and assistance in the execution of it. Morton hesitated, not from dictates of conscience but of caution, for his answer was that he would not engage in it unless he had an order to secure him under the Queen's sign manual, and, in the same spirit, he took care to be at the distance of twenty miles from Edinburgh when the deed was perpetrated there. It was followed by Mary's infamous marriage to Bothwell, and the consequent association of a considerable number of the most powerful of the Scottish nobility, for the protection of the young Prince, to possess himself of whose person he had left no means untried but those of force. Morton joined them with apparent zeal and alacrity; encouraged them to take up arms; and commanded one of the two battalions into which they divided a force hastily raised for the capture of Bothwell. It is needless to dwell here on events which form one of the most striking epochs in the history of Scotland. Mary, who was with Bothwell at Dunbar, surrounded by some troops, endeavoured to arrest the march of the confederates by proposals of treaty, and offers of pardon, but Morton, whom they had agreed should take the lead, answered that they came not against the Queen, but to demand the murderer of the King: not to seek pardon for their offences, but to grant pardon to such as might appear to deserve it. They advanced; Bothwell, doubtless through the connivance of Morton, was suffered to escape; and Mary, submitting to a hard but deserved necessity, surrendered her person on conditions which were no sooner made than broken, and was the next day led a prisoner by Morton to the castle of Lochleven, and placed in the custody of the owner, William Douglas, his near relation.

A resignation of the Crown to her infant son was now extorted

from her, and Murray was appointed to the Regency. Morton, who to eminent general capacity united that coolness and subtlety which the fury of the time rendered peculiarly necessary to a minister, became the chief adviser of his measures, and the most distinguished object of his favour. On the eleventh of November, 1567, the Regent restored him to the great office of Chancellor, and in the following month appointed him, on the forfeiture of Bothwell, hereditary High Admiral of Scotland, and Sheriff of Edinburgh. So universal was the confidence reposed in him by Murray, that, in the spring of the following year, when Mary escaped from Lochleven, and appeared at the head of an army, he was chosen to command the van of the Regent's troops in the battle of Langside, that unfortunate action which fatally compelled her to seek refuge in England. Morton presently followed her thither. He was the Regent's principal coadjutor in the celebrated conference on her case instituted by Elizabeth at York, and afterwards removed to Westminster, and maintained throughout the whole of that tedious scene of solemn deception a secret correspondence with Cecil, which, while it injured to the last degree the already distracted interests of Mary, contributed in no small degree to increase that dependance of Scotland on the will of Elizabeth which has been usually charged to the condescensions of Murray.

A year had scarcely passed after the close of this negotiation, for so it might be called, when Murray fell by the hand of an assassin. Great disorders arose: a powerful party appeared in arms for the Queen; and Morton, who had for the time placed himself at the head of the government, preferred to Elizabeth a welcome suit for her interposition. The King's party, as it was called, prevailed, and, under her auspices, the Earl of Lenox, father of Darnley, and consequently Mary's implacable enemy, was elected to the Regency. A treaty was now established for the restoration of Mary, at least to her liberty, and Morton was placed at the head of the three commissioners named by the

Regent. The professions of Elizabeth, at whose motion it was commenced, seemed at length to be sincere, but, on the meeting in London of the parties delegated by the three powers, Morton, with a warmth by no means consistent with his character, asserted in high terms the justice of limiting the power of Princes, and the inherent right of resistance in subjects; and Elizabeth, with whom it can scarcely be doubted that a proposed discussion on subjects in that age esteemed so monstrous had been previously concerted, testified the utmost indignation, and broke up the congress. Scotland, in the mean time, was distracted by the excesses of the contending factions. A Parliament chosen by the King's party was sitting at Stirling; another, elected by the Queen's, at Edinburgh. On the third of September 1571, some of Mary's friends, led by the celebrated Kirkaldy of Grange, made a sudden attack on the former, and seized the persons of the Regent and his principal nobles. Morton, who had lately arrived from England, alone resisted. He defended his house with obstinate courage till the assailants forced him to surrender by setting fire to it. The sole important consequence of this furious enterprise was the death of Lenox, who was killed in the tumult by an unknown hand, for the party, which was very small, and had owed a momentary success merely to the unexpectedness of its attack, was presently dispersed by the soldiers of the garrison, and the people of the town. The Earls of Mar, Morton, and Argyle, presently appeared as candidates for the Regency, and the former gained the election.

Mar held that high office scarcely for one year. Morton, in whose hands the two preceding Regents had in fact lodged the whole direction of the State, still ruled it with unimpaired sway, and the weight of his talents, and the extent of his domains, rendered any endeavour to remove him at once inconvenient and dangerous. In the mean time, he avenged the secret vexation which the disappointment of his pretensions to the Regency had excited by thwarting the measures of his successful rival, and

opposing to his sincere efforts for the establishment of public tranquillity all the artifices of factious intrigue. Mar, a man of moderate intellect and delicate fibre, fell a sacrifice to the contest, and in November, 1572, Morton, chiefly through the powerful aid of Elizabeth, was chosen to succeed him without opposition. Sensible from the effects of his aversion to peace while he was the second person in the State how necessary it was to him in his new station, he now opened a treaty with the Queen's party. It was divided into two factions, the one headed by the Duke of Chatelherault and the Earl of Huntly, the other by Maitland and Kirkaldy; the former, of great personal weight, and actuated by motives of cool policy; the latter, distinguished by superior talents, and earnest zeal. He determined, while he offered terms to each, to treat separately with the first, and to sacrifice the second to his resentment, and the event amply proved the depth of his policy. The Duke and Huntly eagerly accepted his proposals, but Maitland and Kirkaldy, who possessed the Castle of Edinburgh, enraged at his duplicity, commenced open hostilities by firing on the city. Elizabeth, secretly a party to the plan, sent a considerable military force to Morton's aid, in direct violation of a treaty which she had lately concluded with France, and the two gallant chiefs surrendered to her troops, and were perfidiously placed by her general in the hands of the Regent, who put Kirkaldy to an ignominious death, while Maitland, to avoid a similar fate, destroyed himself in his prison. By these events, which however terminated the civil war in Scotland, the interests of Mary in her own country were utterly overthrown.

The nation now expected a benign and prudent administration, and was disappointed. A fierce and tyrannical spirit, which he had long disguised by deep artifice, began to manifest itself in Morton. He was discovered to be avaricious and cruel. In the affairs of the church he enriched himself by simoniacal bargains, and impoverished even the inferior clergy by extorting from them portions of their incomes, under the pretence of forming regula-

SERFOJI'S SAR

tions to better their condition. He alienated from him the affections of the commonalty by innumerable fines exacted in the way of composition for real or supposed offences, which they were frequently compelled to confess by torture. The nobility became at length the objects of his oppression and treachery, and in that simple spirit of haughty fierceness which then distinguished them, carried their complaints of him to the King. James had not fully reached his twelfth year, but the period of royal majority was not yet clearly defined, and his mere name was a tower of strength. The Earls of Argyle and Athol, two of the most powerful among the Peers of Scotland, headed the cabal which was formed against the Regent. The King, at their request, signed letters calling a council of such nobles as they proposed to him, which determined that the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, should demand of Morton his resignation of the Regency, and he submitted, even with apparent joy, and accompanied them for that purpose to Edinburgh, where James's acceptance of the sovereign authority was immediately proclaimed.

Morton retired to one of his seats, and affected to devote himself to the usual occupations of a rural life. This however was but refined dissimulation. He meditated incessantly the means of regaining his public importance, and the violence with which his adversaries pursued their vengeance against him after his retreat aided his views. Their popularity presently declined. The nation saw the King and the government in the hands of Papists, and Morton was still held as the chief protector of the kirk. The ungenerous persecution of a fallen enemy, as he was deemed, was loudly censured; he discovered that he was yet master of a powerful party, and resolved to ground his hopes on the issue of one of those bold and irregular enterprises so frequent in the eventful history of his time. James, the care of whose person had been committed to the Earl of Mar, still remained in the nominal custody of that nobleman's heir, whose youth rendering him unfit to hold so important a trust, it was sustained

provisionally by his uncle, Alexander Erskine, Morton's bitter enemy. Morton now successfully insinuated to the young Earl and his mother that Alexander had formed a design to deprive his nephew of that distinguished honour, as well as of the government of Stirling Castle, in which the King resided; and Mar, in a transport of fury, aggravated by the suggestions of his ambitious mother, flew to Stirling; dismissed his uncle; and made himself master of the King's person, and of the strong garrison by which it was guarded. Morton presently followed him; took his place in the terrified Privy Council; and called a Parliament, in the King's name, to meet within the castle, which confirmed James's assumption of the government; ratified a general pardon which had been granted to Morton on his relinquishing the functions of Regent; and voted a pension to the Countess of Mar, who had in fact been the chief instrument of working this singular change.

Both parties now appeared in arms, and took the field with considerable strength, but an accommodation was made by the mediation of Elizabeth, to whose will Morton always implicitly submitted. Some of the most eminent of his opponents were admitted into the Privy Council; a convention of the Nobility was chosen, to which the two factions agreed to refer their differences; and an apparent reconciliation succeeded; but it was followed by a horrible circumstance, which, with too much probability, was ascribed to the vindictive spirit of Morton. To celebrate the accord which had been thus accomplished he gave a banquet to the leaders of his late enemies, immediately after which the Earl of Athol, High Chancellor, a man of eminent abilities, and his constant opponent, was suddenly taken ill, and died within four days, with the strongest suspicions of poison: Morton however succeeded in turning this tragical event to his advantage, and purchased the powerful support of Argyll by bestowing on him the elevated office of his late principal coadjutor. Having thus divided and weakened the potent band which

had been arrayed against him, he poured the full tide of his vengeance on the great House of Hamilton, his calm but steady adversaries, in a persecution which, as it is rather largely stated in a section of this work to which it more properly appertains, need not be here repeated.

Morton perhaps enjoyed at this time a more extensive power than had distinguished any former period of his long and eventful administration, yet utter ruin advanced towards him with hasty strides from an unseen and unexpected quarter. James, now in the fifteenth year of his age, exercised independently many of the functions of a Monarch, and more of the faculties of a man. The violent and thoughtless personal attachments which disgraced the whole of his long reign had naturally at this season their fullest scope, and two youthful favourites, of his own blood, Esme Stewart, of the House of Lenox, and James Stewart, a younger son of the Lord Ochiltree, on whom he conferred the highest dignities, and the most splendid appointments, engrossed his affections, and directed his conduct. With the carelessness and confidence which suited their time of life, they shared the kindness of their master without jealousy, but, in the love of power which belongs to all ages, Morton's authority became odious to them, and they combined to overthrow it. His danger was presently evident, and he endeavoured to obviate it by firm and decisive measures. He denounced Stewart Lenox, who was in fact a Roman Catholic, to the clergy, as a secret agent from the Pope, and to the State, as an emissary from the Guises; but Lenox made a public abjuration of the Romish faith, and embraced the communion of the Church of Scotland. In the mean time Morton's ancient enemies took advantage of his embarrassment, and spread a report that he was preparing to seize the King, and to carry him into England. He sought, as usual, the protection of Elizabeth, who instructed her Ambassador to charge Lenox as a secret enemy to the peace of the two kingdoms, and to require his removal from

the Privy Council, but that body, as well as the King, refused with coolness, not to say disdain, to listen to her instances. At the close of this contest, Stewart of Ochiltree, whose comparative insignificance had rendered him a secondary object of apprehension, suddenly appeared in the council chamber where James was then sitting, and falling on his knees, accused Morton, who was present, of being accessary to the murther of the late King.

The general pardon which Morton had received, however particular in the enumeration of causes which might possibly render him liable to prosecution, had left that frightful subject untouched. It was well known that he was privy to the design, and his concealment of it has been already stated. He was arrested, and, as an earnest of the fate which he might expect, was committed successively to the custody of two of his most determined enemies, Alexander Erskine, and Lenox, Governors of the castles of Edinburgh and Dunbarton. Elizabeth interposed to save him with a zeal and earnestness which left no doubt of her obligations to his secret agency. She dispatched Randolph, one of her ablest diplomatists, to represent in the warmest colours, not only to the King and Council, but to a Convention of the Estates, the merits and services of Morton; to require the fullest and fairest inquiry into the true merits of the allegations urged against him; to insist again on the dismissal of Lenox; and even to offer, should force appear necessary to the accomplishment of those objects, any degree of aid, either of men or money, which might be deemed requisite to that end. To these persuasions she added a silent menace of no small weight by sending an army to the borders.

James, however, indeed Scotland, remained equally unmoved by her remonstrances or her preparations. Morton was brought to trial on the first of June, 1581, and found guilty of being, to use the language of the Scottish law, art and part, in Darnley's murther. The records of the Court of Justiciary appertaining to that period are not extant, and historical writers, biassed by

party spirit, differ in their reports of the proceedings against him, but thus much is certain, that after his sentence had been passed, he distinctly owned Bothwell's disclosure to him of the intended assassination. On the following day he was led to execution: his enemy, Stewart of Ochiltree, commanding in person the soldiers who guarded the scaffold, a shocking instance of the barbarous rudeness of the time. He confessed there that it was his design to have sent James into England, but alledged that the resolution was dictated by an opinion that it would be proper that the King should in his youth reside at intervals among a people over whom he was one day to reign; and that he considered it to be necessary towards securing the succession to the Crown of that country. He suffered death with great firmness, and a decent shew of piety and resignation. Morton left no issue.

Engraved by J. Thomson.

MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

OB. 1587.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON[BLE] THE EARL OF MORTON.

Published Oct. 1, 1824; by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London.

MARY STUART,

QUEEN OF SCOTLAND.

THE writer of these memoirs having formerly been the humble instrument of discovering and promulgating many very curious particulars of Mary's eventful story, it might perhaps be expected that he should be more inclined, and even better qualified, than many others, now to treat of it somewhat at large; neither of those motives however, were he sensible of such, could tempt him to assume the task. All the stores of history and tradition, of public records and private collections, have been already ransacked; argument and reasonable conjecture have been exhausted; the fields even of imagination and fancy have been traversed in search of bright or hideous visions to enhance the charms of her person and her wit, and to aggravate the horror of her sufferings. Nay, while in the fear of saying too much I am thus apologising for saying so little, appears a complete "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," from the ever employed and ever instructive pen of Mr. George Chalmers, who has once more journeyed over the whole of this interesting ground, and seems to have left no stone unturned which might by possibility have concealed any novel object of his research. The whole result is surely now before the public. It comprehends a tale which the heart has eagerly accepted from all the passions, and fixed irrevocably in the memory. To repeat it would be impertinent; to enlarge it, till new discoveries shall be made, is impossible.

The only object then of the few following lines is to give some account of the picture an engraving from which accompanies them. The numerous portraits hitherto ascribed to this Princess

are as various and as dissimilar as the circumstances of her life, or the features of her character, agreeing only in the single fact of representing her as eminently beautiful. No strong internal presumption, no inveterate tradition, tends to distinguish the authenticity of any one of them: the several professed resemblances of her countenance have excited almost as much doubt and controversy as the disputed points of her history; and thus a genuine likeness of this celebrated lady may be reckoned among the first of the elegant and tasteful desiderata of the present age. How far the beautiful specimen of two arts which is before us may tend to decide the question must rest in great measure on the degree of credit that may be esteemed due to a report which has been regularly handed down in the family of the noble owner of the picture, and which must necessarily be here prefaced by the brief recital of a small portion of Mary's history.

In the year 1567, which is well known to have been distinguished, fatally for her reputation, by the murder of her husband, and her marriage to the infamous Bothwell, the most powerful among the nobility of Scotland associated for the declared purposes of separating her from that wretch, and protecting the person of the young Prince, her son. With the usual fate of such combinations, they went much further; they made their Queen a captive; led her triumphantly through the army with which they had strengthened themselves; and, having imprisoned her closely in the Castle of Lochleven, deposed her, and crowned her son. The owner of the castle was a Douglas, nearly related to the celebrated Earl of Morton, the most considerable person of the confederates, and who had been commissioned by them to accept her surrender. Here she remained nearly twelve months. At length, after the failure of various plans to liberate her, formed by those who still remained true to her interest, she accomplished it herself, by gaining over George Douglas, brother of her keeper. On this young man, under the age of twenty, and already a slave to that beauty the magic of which no one could wholly resist,

she employed all the graces of mind and manners with which nature and art had so abundantly furnished her, and, to leave no passion of his heart unassailed which might be rendered subservient to her view, is said to have tempted his ambition by giving him hopes that he might obtain her hand. When she had completed her charm, she besought him to aid her escape. He instantly complied, for who could have hesitated? and, by means which, however curious and interesting, it is not to the present purpose to recapitulate, restored her to freedom.

The picture which has furnished the plate before us has been preserved with the greatest care from time immemorial in the mansion of Dalmahoy, the principal seat in Scotland of the Earl of Morton; on the upper part of it is inscribed, with a modesty of assertion which tends to favour the report of its originality, "Mary, Queen of Scots, said to have been painted during her confinement in Lochleven Castle;" and the noble Earl who at present possesses it, has enhanced the value of his permission to place an engraving from it among the chief ornaments of this work, by condescending to state that, according to an invariable tradition in his lordship's family, it was once the property of George Douglas, the liberator of Mary, and that it passed from him, together with other curious relics of that unhappy Princess, to his eminent relation, James, fourth Earl of Morton, who has been mentioned above, in whose posterity it has remained to the present day.

From the same picture also professes to have been engraved a plate which supplies the frontispiece to the first volume of Mr. Chalmers's new work, and its striking dissimilitude to the portrait here presented renders some reluctant remarks on it highly necessary in this place. It is scarcely too much to say that neither the features, nor the general character of countenance, given in the two engravings, bear even the slightest resemblance to each other, and this variance between two copies taken from the same original, which is allowed to possess stronger claims to

authenticity than any other painting, is the more distressing, as it was hoped that the engraving before us would have done much towards putting to rest the long disputed question as to Mary's features, and the skill and talents of the painter who copied the original, together with the clear opinion of its correctness, after actual comparison with the painting, expressed by the noble Earl who possesses the picture, may be received as pledges for its exact fidelity. Having thus established the claim of the engraving here presented, to be considered as the genuine representation of Mary's portrait, the failure in that of Mr. Chalmers's alone remains to be accounted for.

That gentleman discloses to us in his preface a new and most extraordinary discovery by which he has been enabled, with the aid of an artist, of whom he expresses a high opinion, to produce, de novo, a correct portrait of Mary; and one of the most singular features of the invention is that the distracting variety of those which have hitherto individually pretended to originality constitutes the very source which gives undoubted authenticity to his. Having spoken of those perplexities of which no one before had known how to take the advantage, Mr. Chalmers says, "in this state of uncertainty with regard to the person of the Scottish Queen, I employed a very ingenious artist to paint that celebrated Queen from such sketches, pictures, and other materials, as might be laid before his intelligent eyes: at the same time I presumed to think that her features might be settled by ascertaining the facts relating to her person like other matters of history." In other words, that the artist was to copy from one picture a pair of eyes, justified by the authority of Melvil; a nose from another, corroborated by the report of Keith; from a coin, a smile which had been cursed by Knox; and from a figure on a tomb, a frown which Buchanan had recorded to have been levelled at him; and the like; and from the combination of these pictorial and historical tesseræ Mr. Chalmers's hopes were at length fulfilled by the acquisition of a portrait which, to use

his own words, "has been very generally admired for its truth, and its elegance." From this picture was engraved the plate which is prefixed to the second volume of his work.

Now, to speak seriously, Mr. Chalmers, whose kindness and candour I know too well to expect his displeasure at these remarks, has left, fortunately for us, to the idle and the careless those lighter studies which employ the mind without fatigue, and gratify the fancy without informing the understanding. A votary to history, his affection for it has led him to give too large a credit to its descriptive powers, while a negligence of the more delicate and less important theory of the human face divine has left him at liberty to suppose the impossibility, that a mere junction of features, however correctly each may have been individually represented and copied, should produce what we commonly call a likeness. The artist who could propose or encourage such a suggestion merits not so mild a judgment.

To conclude, the fact seems to be that the picture which assumes to have been so whimsically composed (vol. 2.) was ill copied from that which is stated to be a copy from the Douglas picture, (vol. 1.) to which it has scarcely any resemblance (except in the dress, in which the artist condescendingly tells us in Mr. Chalmers's preface he "did not chuse to make any fanciful alteration") or vice versa: in short, that the artist judged it necessary to produce somehow an evident agreement between the two. It need only be added that the sole view of these observations is to record a caveat against any inference adverse to the authenticity of the portrait here presented, which might possibly be drawn from a careless comparison of it with either of the two engravings in Mr. Chalmers's history of Mary; and this is rendered the more necessary by an anticipation of the respect which will undoubtedly and justly be paid to that work. A jealousy of fair reputation, and a regard to weighty interests, equally excusable, have demanded this explanation.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

GEORGE CLIFFORD, EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

OB. 1605.

FROM THE ORIGINAL, IN THE

BODLEIAN GALLERY, OXFORD.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Aug. 1, 1824.

GEORGE CLIFFORD,

THIRD EARL OF CUMBERLAND.

WE might search vainly through the whole circle of the biography of later centuries, and through the almost proverbial varieties of the English character, without meeting with a parallel to the disposition of this Nobleman. He was by nature what the heroes of chivalry were from fashion, and stood alone, therefore, in a time to the manners of which he could not assimilate himself, like a being who having slept for ages, had suddenly awaked amidst the distant posterity of his contemporaries. The history of his singular life must be sought sometimes in the journal of the sailor, and sometimes in the tablets of the courtier: in the rough-hewn narrations of Hakluyt and Purchas, and in the light and elegant notices of Walpole and Pennant.

He was the eldest son of Henry Clifford, second Earl, by his second Countess Anne, daughter of William Lord Dacre, of Gillesland. His father, dying in 1569, left him an infant of the age of eleven years, and his wardship was granted by the Crown to Francis Russell, second Earl of Bedford; but his education seems to have been superintended by the Viscount Montague, who had married his mother's sister, and at whose house, in Sussex, he passed some years of his youth. He went from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he studied in Peter House under the care of Whitgift, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, or rather devoted his attention so earnestly to the Mathematicks as to abstract it wholly from all other studies. Thus it happened that the ardent spirit of adventure, and the boundless activity which afterwards distinguished him, took first a nautical turn, acquired an increased force by assuming a peculiar direction

and enhanced the charm of curiosity by adding to it the interest of science.

Several of the earlier years of his manhood passed however in unobserved employment, during which we hear only of him that he was one of the Peers who sat in judgment on Mary Queen of Scots; but immediately after that deplorable proceeding, he fitted out, at his private charge, a little naval force which sailed on an expedition planned by himself, while he, with a party of volunteers of distinguished rank, embarked for Holland, with the view of relieving Sluys, then besieged by the Prince of Parma. Both enterprises were unsuccessful. His fleet, consisting of three ships, and a pinnace, the latter commanded by Sir Walter Raleigh, was destined to a voyage of discovery, but with particular instructions to lose no opportunity of annoying the Spaniards. It sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of June, 1586, but was repeatedly driven back by contrary winds, and could not finally quit England till the end of August, when it bent its course towards the South Seas, and, having reached, amidst considerable dangers and difficulties, as far as forty-four degrees of southern latitude, returned home, after thirteen months' absence, having captured a few Portuguese vessels, from which little had been gained beyond those supplies of provision of which the crews had been frequently in imminent need.

In 1588 he commanded a ship called the Elizabeth Bonaventure, in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish Armada, and distinguished himself equally by his bravery and his skill in the various engagements by which that great work was accomplished, particularly in the last action, which was fought off Calais. Even during that arduous service, his mind was employed in projecting a second voyage to the South Seas, the command of which he determined to take on himself. Elizabeth now flattered him with the distinction of a royal commission, and lent him one of her own ships, named the Golden Lion, which however, as well as the rest, was fitted out solely at his charge. This expedition,

which sailed in the following October, proved even more unfortunate than the former. Baffled by contrary winds and storms, in one of which he had been obliged to cut the main mast of his own ship by the board, he returned, having scarcely been able to quit the channel during his absence. In 1589, disappointed but not dispirited, on the eighteenth of June he again left England, with a force of three small ships, equipped by himself, and headed by the Victory, from the royal navy, in which he assumed the command. He now sailed to the West Indies, and was at length in some measure successful. He took the town of Fyal, and stripped it of fifty-eight pieces of iron ordnance, and, in the course of this cruise, sent home twenty-eight ships of various burthen, laden with goods to the value of more than twenty thousand pounds. These advantages were not cheaply purchased. In a desperate engagement between the Victory and a Brasil ship, off St. Michael's, he received several wounds, and was severely scorched; and the sufferings of his men from want of provisions, especially water, on his return to England, are perhaps unparallelled in the multifarious relations of naval misery. A particular narrative of this horrible distress, by Edward Wright, a famous mathematician, who sailed with the Earl, may be found in Hakluyt's collection, and states at the conclusion, that the men who died of thirst, exceeded in number those who had perished otherwise during the whole voyage. This calamity occurred almost within sight of the coast of Ireland, where at length, on the second of December, a change of wind permitted the survivors to land in Bantry Bay.

Hardship and danger, however, were agreeable to this singular man, and his romantic mind delighted in extremities of difficulty. He put to sea again, in May, 1591, with five ships, manned and provisioned, as usual, at his own expense, and having cruised for some months in the Mediterranean, with indifferent success returned but to prepare for a fifth expedition, which left the shores of England, destined to the Azores, in the summer of the

following year, and which, on some occasion of disgust, he suddenly declined to accompany. It proved more fortunate than any of his preceding enterprises, but in the end produced a serious mortification to himself. His ships, among inferior successes, captured, on their return, one of the Spanish Caraques, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but, under the pretext of his personal absence, and other allegations, it was adjudged at home that he had no legal claim to any part of the sum. He was thrown therefore on the Queen's generosity for his requital, and in the end reluctantly accepted at her hands, as a boon, thirty-six thousand pounds. Yet, in 1593, he again sailed to the Spanish settlements, with four ships of his own, and the Golden Lion, and Bonaventure, from the navy, hoisting his flag on board the former; and, after having captured a French convoy of great value, was compelled by a severe illness to quit his command, and return to England, leaving his little fleet under the orders of Monson, afterwards the most celebrated naval officer of his time. Several rich prizes were made after his departure, and this was the most profitable of all his expeditions. The ships anchored at Plymouth on the fifteenth of May, 1594; but the Earl, barely risen from his sick bed, had left that port three weeks before their arrival, with a small squadron, fitted out at the charge of himself and some others, and bound to the Azores, from whence, having grievously annoyed the Spaniards, with little profit to himself and his companions, he returned to Portsmouth in the end of August.

His passion for nautical adventure was now at the height. Unable to employ ships of sufficient force to support his hired vessels without borrowing from the Queen, and unwilling to subject himself to the controul under which the use of such loans necessarily placed him, he determined to build a man of war of his own, and accomplished the task. It was of the burthen of nine hundred tons; was launched at Deptford; and named by Elizabeth "The Scourge of Malice;" reputed the best and largest ship

that had been built by any English subject. He entered it, in the river, on his eighth enterprise, accompanied by three inferior vessels, and had proceeded to Plymouth, when he received the Queen's command, by Raleigh, for his instant return to London, which he obeyed. His squadron, however, proceeded on its voyage to the Spanish main; made some prizes; and returned to take him on board for another cruise thither; in which his great ship was so shattered in a violent storm, which occurred when he had scarcely reached the distance of forty leagues from England, that he was obliged to retrace his course, and to wait, however impatiently, at home till the vessel should be rendered again fit for service. At length, on the sixth of March, 1598, he embarked in it, at the head of nineteen others, on his last, and most considerable expedition. His expenses in the preparations for it had been enormous, and the expectations of his sanguine mind had kept pace with them. He sailed on the sixth of March for the West Indies, where, for seven months, he incessantly harassed the Spaniards in their settlements, to the great advantage of the public interests of his country; lost two of his ships, and more than a thousand of his men; and received from the produce of his captures about a tenth part of the sum which he had disbursed for the purposes of his voyage. "His fleet," however, says Lloyd, "was bound to no other harbour but the port of honour, though touching at the port of profit in passage thereunto."

Such is the outline of his maritime story. At home, his politeness, his courage, and his magnificence, were, in the strictest sense of the word, inimitable: highly tinctured always by the singularity of his mind, they were solely and distinctly his own. He had good parts, but the warmth of his temper, and the punctilious exactness of his notions of honour, rendered him unfit for any concern in public affairs. Elizabeth, who looked narrowly and judiciously into the characters of men, seems therefore to have employed him but on one short service, for which no one could have been better qualified—the reducing to obedience his

eccentric compeer, Essex; but she knew, perhaps admired, his foibles, and certainly flattered them. In 1592 she dignified and decorated him with the Order of the Garter. At an audience, upon his return from one of his voyages, she dropped her glove, which he took up, and presented to her on his knees. She desired him to keep it for her sake, and he adorned it richly with diamonds, and wore it ever after in the front of his hat at public ceremonies. This little characteristic circumstance is commemorated in a very scarce whole-length portrait of the Earl, engraved by Robert White. She constituted him, on the resignation of Sir Henry Lea, Knight of the Garter, disabled by age, her own peculiar champion at all tournaments. Sir William Segar has preserved, in his treatise "of Honour Military and Civil," an exact account of the pomp and parade of his admission into that romantic office, for the insertion of a short extract from which perhaps no apology may be necessary.

"On the seventeenth day of November, anno 1590, this honourable gentleman" (Sir Henry Lea), "together with the Earl of Cumberland, having first performed their service in armes, presented themselves unto her Highnesse at the foot of the staires, under her gallery window, in the Tilt-yard at Westminster, where at that time her Majestie did sit, accompanied with the Vicount Turyn, ambassador of France, many ladies, and the chiefest nobilitie. Her Majestie, beholding these armed knights comming toward her, did suddenly heare a musicke so sweete and secret as every one thereat greatly marvailed. And, hearkening to that excellent melodie, the earth as it were opening, there appeared a pavilion, made of white taffata, containing eight score elles, being in proportion like unto the sacred temple of the virgins vestall. This temple seemed to consist upon pillars of pourferry, arched like unto a church: within it were many lamps burning: also on the one side there stood an altar, covered with cloth of gold, and thereupon two waxe candles, burning in rich candlesticks: upon the altar also were laid certain princely presents, which, after, by

three virgins were presented unto her Majestie. Before the doore of this temple stood a crowned pillar, embraced by an eglantine tree, whereon was hanged a table, and therein written, with letters of gold, this prayer following. Elizæ, &c. Piæ, potenti, fœlicissimæ Virgini; fidei, pacis, nobilitatis, Vindici; cui Deus, astra, virtus, summa devoverunt omnia. Post tot annos, tot triumphos, animam ad pedes positurus tuos, sacra senex affixit arma. Vitam quietam, imperium, famam æternam, æternum, precatur tibi, sanguine redempturus suo. Ultra Columnas Herculis Columna moveatur tua. Corona superet Coronas omnes, ut quam Cœlum fœlicissimé nascenti Coronam dedit, beatissima moriens reportes Cœlo. Summe, Sancte, Æterne, audi, exaudi, Deus."

Having related other circumstances, not to the present purpose, the narrative concludes, "These presents and prayer being with great reverence delivered into her Majestie's owne hands, and he himself disarmed, offered up his armour at the foot of her Majestie's crowned pillar; and, kneeling upon his knees, presented the Earle of Cumberland, humbly beseeching she would be pleased to accept him for her Knight, to continue the yeerely exercises aforesaid. Her Majestie gratiously accepting of that offer, this aged knight armed the Earle, and mounted him upon his horse. That being done, he put upon his owne person a side coat of blacke velvet, pointed under the arme, and covered his head, in liew of an helmet, with a buttoned cap, of the countrey fashion."

The Earl's expenses in discharging the duties, if they may be so called, of this fantastic office; in horse-racing, which had then lately become fashionable; and in feasts which rivalled the splendor of royalty; added to the aggregate loss on the whole of his maritime career, greatly impaired his estate. He was, to say the least, careless of his family; lived on ill terms with his Countess, Margaret, third daughter of his guardian, Francis Earl of Bedford, a woman of extraordinary merit, but perhaps too high spirited for such a husband; and neglected the interests, as well as the education, of his only surviving child. Of that child, little

less remarkable than her father, Anne, wife first to Richard Sackville, Earl of Dorset, and secondly to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, some account, together with her portrait, will presently appear in this work.

George, Earl of Cumberland, died at the Savoy, in London, on the thirtieth of October, 1605, and was buried at Skipton, in Yorkshire, where was the chief seat of his family, on the thirtieth, says Dugdale, of the following March.

Engraved by J. Jenkins.

ROBERT CECIL, EARL OF SALISBURY.

OB. 1612.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

Published Oct. 1, 1824, by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London.

ROBERT CECIL,

EARL OF SALISBURY.

If the father of this great man, the celebrated Lord Burghley, had never been a minister, the son might probably, and very justly, have been esteemed the most consummate statesman in Europe of his time. Their qualities however differed materially: the father was the wiser man: he loved to act alone, and the greatest measures of his administration may in most instances be traced to the decisions of his own intellect. A principle of moral right, seldom to be found in any who preceded or followed him, was always more or less discernible in them; and a simplicity of character which remarkably adorned his private life was generally evident also in his ministerial conduct. In his progress to a very exalted eminence he had few competitors, and his long possession of it excited little jealousy, because the public interest was, or seemed to be, the invariable object of his labours, for envy is seldom provoked but by those who are evidently actuated by the selfish passions. The son was more adroit, not to say cunning. He was the first statesman in this country who practised, with the air of a system, the policy of governing by the opposition and balance of parties. His own hand was seldom to be discovered in his measures, and those by whom they were accomplished were rarely conscious of having been his instruments. He was charged, perhaps often unjustly, with duplicity, and with angry and revengeful partialities, nor was he wholly unsuspected of sharing in the gross venality to which most public ministers of all ranks were tempted by the absurd carelessness and profuseness of the Monarch in whose reign he chiefly

flourished. Salisbury was pliant, and served Elizabeth with as high a degree of favour as his father, but the wisdom and stern integrity of Burghley would have disqualified him for the place of High Treasurer to a Prince of James's character.

Robert Cecil was the only son of that exemplary minister by his second wife, Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Coke, of Gidea Hall in Essex. Of the date of his birth we have the most discordant accounts, but it seems to have occurred about the year 1560. He received the education usual to persons of his rank at home, and afterwards at St. John's College, Cambridge, and, though he was in fact bred from his very childhood for the Court and the State, became amply accomplished in every branch of polite literature. His constitution was weak and sickly, insomuch that his person became deformed, and it was long before he was able to bear the fatigue of any unusual bodily exertion; but in 1584 he ventured to attach himself to the splendid embassy of Henry Earl of Derby to the Court of Paris, and in 1588 had so far mastered his infirmities as to join the number of young nobility who were witnesses to the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Several years however yet passed before he was specifically appointed to any post in the government, during which he was receiving from his father that last instruction in state affairs which can be derived only from a participation in the management of them. The most advantageous opportunity for this was offered by the death of Walsingham, in 1590, and Burghley instantly seized it. He persuaded Elizabeth, on what grounds is now unknown, to keep the office of Principal Secretary nominally vacant, and for the six succeeding years transacted the business of it himself, with the assistance of his son, who in the summer of 1596 was at length formally appointed to it. From this promotion originated the lasting enmity between Cecil and Essex, who had proposed to the Queen first Davison, and then Bodley, for the Secretaryship, and had on those occasions, says Camden, before whose report the tales of such writers as Welden

and Osborne sink into contempt, "with so much bitterness, and so little reason, disparaged Cecil," that she would not listen to Essex's recommendation, even insomuch as to permit either of the objects of his choice to act as coadjutor to Cecil in the office.

In 1597 Elizabeth conferred on him the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and about the same time gave him the custody of the Privy Seal; and in the following year he was the chief commissioner on the part of England in the negotiation for a peace between the Crowns of France and Spain which is known by the name of the treaty of Vervins. Before his departure, such was his opinion of the honour of his generous adversary, he is said to have earnestly sought, and at length to have obtained, from Essex a promise not to injure him during his absence by promoting any of his enemies. He succeeded his father, who died in the autumn of that year, in the post of Master of the Wards, and in his office of secretary exercised in fact that of prime minister for the remaining five years of the Queen's life, with as full a share of her favour and confidence as she had at any time bestowed on his illustrious natural and political predecessor. He had indeed many of his father's qualifications to recommend him, and some, as has been already observed, which that great statesman never possessed. No one among her ministers but himself could have supplied the loss of Walsingham, who furnished her with the means of controlling foreign powers through intelligence gained in their own courts. Cecil even rivalled him in this dark faculty, and Elizabeth, in whom we find the worst meannesses of the feminine character united to an extravagance in the factitious splendor of royalty, valued him accordingly.

His memory has been highly censured for his having held a secret correspondence with the King of Scots for some of the last years of her life, and apparently without any just cause, for it has never been insinuated that he betrayed her confidence to that

Prince. Those who have blamed him on this score forget that the reciprocal relations of monarch and minister cannot be expected to involve that delicacy of personal regard which belongs to the affections of private life, and is even there not frequently to be found. Cecil, a minister by trade, sought to ensure the favour of the successor to the Throne, and he did it fairly and honestly. It has been said that his efforts to that end were powerfully seconded by Hume, Earl of Dunbar, perhaps the most creditable of James's Scottish ministers, and an incredible tale is told by a pamphleteer of that day of his meeting that nobleman privately at York, immediately after the Queen's decease, to negotiate for his good offices. James's motives for accepting and retaining Cecil in his station of prime minister are obvious. His services were indispensably necessary, for the Council of Elizabeth contained not an individual qualified to supply his place. The King was arbitrary and idle; sudden, extravagant, and versatile, in the choice of his private familiars; and more ambitious of the character of an able polemic, and an acute theoretical politician, than of a powerful Prince: Cecil was subservient and vigilant; too wise and too proud to entertain a jealousy of mere favourites; and willingly encouraged James to waste in reveries the time which would otherwise have been employed in interfering with his minister's measures.

It is needless to say that he was continued in the office of Secretary. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth he had possessed no higher title than that of a Knight Bachelor, but James now amply compensated him for the omission, for on the thirteenth of May, 1603, he was created Baron Cecil, of Essendon, in the county of Rutland; on the twentieth of August, in the following year, Viscount Cranborne; on the fourth of May, 1605, Earl of Salisbury; and on the twentieth of the same month was installed a Knight of the Garter. He was about that time elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, and on the death of Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset in April 1608 was appointed on

the fourth of the following month to succeed him in the great office of Lord Treasurer. With that nobleman Cecil had long lived in the strictest friendship, and we have the good fortune to possess a character of him, drawn by Dorset's exquisite pen, which leaves no room to doubt of the exaggerations of calumny with which his memory has been loaded. The solemn nature of the document in which it is to be found, and the admirable universality of talent and judgement, as well as the perfect integrity and honour of the writer, unite to give it every claim to credit, and as Dorset's name has thus occurred, it may as well be inserted in this place.

In his last will he bequeaths to Cecil several jewels of great value, not only as tokens of a most earnest personal affection, which he declares at considerable length, and with the utmost warmth of expression, "but also, and most chiefly," to use the words of the testator, "even in regard of his public merit, both towards his Majesty and this Commonwealth: wherein," continues he, "when I behold the heavy weight of so many grave and great affairs which the special duty of his place as principal Secretary doth daily and necessarily cast upon him; and do note withal what infinite cares, crosses, labours and travels of body and mind, he doth thereby continually sustain and undergo; and, lastly, do see with how great dexterity, sincerity, and judgement, he doth accomplish and perform the painful service of that place: these divine virtues of his, so incessantly exercised and employed for the good of the public, I must confess have made me long since so greatly to love, honour, and esteem him, and so firmly and faithfully fixed my heart unto him, as I do dailie and heartily pray unto Almighty God to continue all strength and ability, both of body and mind in him, that he sink not under the weight of so heavy a burthen." After fervently praying at some extent for a continuance of the blessings of Providence on his ministry, Dorset concludes—"Thus I have faithfully set down in some sort the noble parts of this honourable

Earl, who, besides such his worthiness and sufficiency for the public service both of his sovereign and country, is also framed of so sweet a nature; so full of mildness, courtesy, honest mirth, bounty, kindness, gratitude, and discourse; so easily reconciled to his foe, and evermore so true unto his friend; as I may justly say that it were one of the chiefest felicities that in this world we can possess, to live, converse, and spend our whole life, in mutual love and friendship with such a one; of whose excelling virtues, and sweet conditions, so well known to me, in respect of our long communication by so many years in most true love and friendship together, I am desirous to leave some faithful remembrance in this my last Will and Testament; that since the living speech of my tongue when I am gone from hence must then cease and speak no more, that yet the living speech of my pen, which never dieth, may herein thus for ever truly testify and declare the same."

Cecil's political character, as given by Lord Dorset, is fully justified by the clearest historical evidence. His application to the duties of his several offices was almost incessant, and no object, however minute, which they involved escaped his attention. It appears from an extensive collection of his original papers which were once my property that he had not only informed himself, with a correctness which without such proof would have been altogether incredible, of the precise number of acres; of the several buildings, and their state of repair; of the woods, and of the timber proper to be felled; comprised in all the estates of the crown; but that he had applied his mind distinctly to the consideration of every subdivision of each of those several branches of the subject, and had written innumerable notes on them with his own hand, frequently at great length. So too, in his place of Master of the Wards, he wrote himself at the foot of each petition for wardship, even from the meanest persons, his answer, the mode of which always proved that he had carefully considered the merits of each case. It has been said

that he procured from James large grants of lands, and made exchanges of estates with that Prince unreasonably to his own advantage. If it were so, he did but imitate the practice of all ministers of that age, and of many which preceded it; but, on the other hand, he was perhaps the only minister or courtier of that reign who stood even unsuspected of foreign corruption. He has been charged too with abject submission to the will of his master: it is true that he interfered not with the foibles of the man, but he discouraged, sometimes by argument, sometimes by artifice, the prodigality of the monarch; and opposed, vigorously and openly, the Spanish interest, to which James is well known to have been strongly inclined. On the whole, it is surprising that a Prince so careless and so profuse should have had a servant so honest, and under the impression of that candid and impartial opinion some writer of later days has said that "Cecil was the first bad Treasurer, and the last good one since the reign of Elizabeth."

Of Lord Dorset's report of him as a private man, valuable as it is, for no one else has pourtrayed him in that character, little need be said, because few parts of it have been contradicted. His enmity to Essex, and afterwards to Raleigh, have been frequent themes of historical censure, but neither his motives nor his conduct regarding those unfortunate great men have ever been even slightly examined. His original offence to the former has been already here mentioned, and he aggravated it by opposing the promotion of Bacon to the office of Attorney General. Essex, the slave of passion, vilified him openly, and the cool prudence with which Cecil endured his attacks was called hypocrisy. The Earl suddenly embraced and headed an imbecile faction to drive Cecil from the ministry: the statesman defended himself, and thwarted his adversary by counteracting his schemes for military glory. To us, who live in the age of party, this will seem but fair collision. When Essex was taken in open rebellion his powerful adversary appears to have made no efforts to forward the impending

blow, but he is said to have witnessed the infliction of it, and hence the general impression of his hatred to the unhappy favourite. Some traces of the high generosity as well as of the cruelty of incivilisation were to be yet discerned in that time, and Cecil, if he were a spectator of the death of Essex, prevailed on Elizabeth to spare the life of Southampton, that nobleman's dearest friend, and not less his own enemy. Of the causes of his quarrel with Raleigh less is known. They had been united against Essex, and disagreed after his overthrow. It is natural to suppose that their ill offices towards each other were mutual, but we have few particulars of the activity of Cecil's resentment, whose station indeed afforded him opportunities of dealing out his vengeance unseen: Raleigh however is known to have presented a memorial to James on his arrival in England, full of bitter reflections on Cecil, charging him with the ruin of Essex, and his father with the death of the Queen of Scots. Forgiveness, or even forbearance, could scarcely be reasonably expected from the infirmity of nature after such an injury.

To endeavour in a work of this nature to digress from these slight notices of this great man's character into even the most contracted epitome of the history of his ministry would be idle. To conclude then, it may be truly said that he sacrificed his life to the public service. His constitution, naturally weak and delicate, had been so fortified by medical care and temperance, that at the time of the death of Elizabeth he seemed to bid fair for long life. Her system, clear, decisive, and regular, suited the character of his mind, and had become engrafted on his habits; but the care and anxiety attendant on the superintendance of an uncertain policy, and an impoverished revenue, gradually undermined his re-established health. In 1611 he shewed manifest signs of decay, and at length fell into a pulmonary consumption, in the last stage of which he was advised to use the waters of Bath, and after a few weeks' ineffectual trial of them, died, on his return from thence, on the twenty-fourth of May, 1612, at

Marlborough, and was buried in the Parish Church of his princely seat of Hatfield in Herts. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brook, Lord Cobham, by whom he had one son, William, his successor, lineal ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury, and one daughter, Frances, wife of Henry Clifford, fifth Earl of Cumberland.

Engraved by W. Freeman.

LUCY HARINGTON, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

1627.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF HONTHORST, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Dec. 1. 1824.

LUCY HARINGTON,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

THE memory of this remarkable woman resides chiefly in the airy regions of poetry. Her character, through a strange envious perverseness, seems to have been undervalued merely because she was in her time the object of almost universal praise by those who were best qualified to judge of genius, as well as to express that judgment. Men of talents and taste in our day have condescended, for the sake of abusing her, to fall into the proverbial nonsense that poets can only lie and flatter. Granger, in whose very agreeable book we may frequently, as in this instance, trace the peculiarities of another mind and pen, tells us that she purchased all their complaisance with money; that "they, in return, were as lavish of their incense;" and that, "upon a moderate calculation, she paid them as much for their panegyrics as Octavia did Virgil for his encomium on Marcellus." Pennant, in mentioning a portrait of her with which he chanced to meet, calls her "that fantastic lady;" charges her with vanity and extravagance; and speaks scornfully of the Earl, her husband, because he endured her. Thus these gentlemen have bestowed perhaps more imagination, not to say fiction, on their sober prose, than she received at the hands of all her poets; for certain it is that they could not have cited a single fact in proof of their invectives.

She was the elder of the two daughters of John, first Lord Harington of Exton, by Anne, daughter, and sole heir, of Robert Kelway, Surveyor of the Court of Wards and Liveries. Her only surviving brother, the friend and favourite of Henry Prince of Wales, in whom the title became extinct, dying unmarried six

months after he had succeeded to it, she became heir, under a settlement made by him on his death-bed, to two-thirds of his great estates. He was probably the youngest, and she the first-born, of a very numerous issue; for he had scarcely reached the twenty-second year of his age in 1613, when he died, and she had then been the wife of Edward Russell, third Earl of Bedford, for nearly nineteen years. She was married at Stepney, in Middlesex, on the twelfth of December, 1594, to that nobleman, who, on the third of May, 1627, left her a childless widow, in the uncontrolled possession of immense wealth. Her inclinations, which indeed had never been severely curbed by him, for he was an easy good-tempered man, were now indulged to the utmost. Her great ambition, as it is said, was to establish a character so rare in her day that it had not yet acquired a distinct denomination; the character, as we should now call it, of a woman of taste: but ambition, whose natural aim is at general admiration and respect, seeks them in the rooted prejudices of mankind, and not in the practice of untried novelties. Patronesses to authors were not wanting among the women of rank who were the Countess of Bedford's contemporaries, but their protection was almost exclusively enjoyed by scholars, and devout writers; her's was confined to poets. The management of the garden and the orchard was then no insignificant part of a lady's education, but its great object was the supply of the table, and its utmost refinement consisted in the composition of the winter sweet pot: she added the elegancies of fancy to the uses of horticulture, and may, perhaps with justice, be placed among the first improvers of the English pleasure garden. It may indeed be fairly presumed that she was mistress of both; for Sir William Temple, in his Essay on the Gardens of Epicurus, celebrates her for projecting "the most perfect figure of a garden" that he had ever seen, at Moor Park, in Surrey, where she once resided; and an Italian, Giacomo Castelvetri, dedicated to her a treatise, which may be found in MS. in Sir Joseph Banks's library, intituled "Brieve Racconto di

tutte le Radici, di tutte l'Herbe, & di tutti i Frutti, che crudi o cotti in Italia si mangiano." She was well read, at least, in the learned languages, and so were many other ladies of her time, but in her application of that accomplishment she was distinguished from all others—We have the same authority for both those assertions—Sir Thomas Roe addressed a letter to her as one skilled in ancient medals. Thus she may be said to have invented her occupations and her amusements. It is perhaps therefore that historians and biographers have passed her by in silence, and that poets have delighted to celebrate her. Let us hear them on her behalf.

Samuel Daniel, a poet of no mean fame in those days, has the following epistle to her.

"To the Lady Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

"Though Virtue be the same when low she stands
  In th' humble shadows of obscurity,
As when she either sweats in martial bands,
  Or sits in court clad with authority,
Yet, Madam, doth the strictness of her room
  Greatly detract from her ability:
For, as inwall'd within a living tomb,
  Her hands and arms of action labour not;
Her thoughts, as if abortive from the womb,
  Come never born, though happily begot.
But where she hath, mounted in open sight,
  An eminent and spacious dwelling got,
Where she may stir at will, and use her might,
  There she is more herself, and more her own:
There, in the fair attire of honest dight,
  She sits at ease, and makes her glory known:
Applause attends her hands; her deeds have grace;
  Her worth new-born is strait as if full grown.

With such a godly and respected grace
  Doth Virtue look that's set to look from high;
And such a fair advantage by her place
  Hath state and greatness to do worthily;

And therefore well did your high fortunes meet
  With her that, gracing you, comes grac'd thereby:
And well was let into a house so sweet,
  So good, so fair, so fair so good a guest,
Who now remains as blessed in her seat,
  As you are with her residency blest.
And this fair course of knowledge, whereunto
  Your studies, learned Lady, are addrest,
Is th' only certain way that you can go
  Unto true glory, to true happiness.
All passages on earth besides are so
  Incumbred with such vain disturbances,
As still we lose our rest in seeking it,
  Being deluded with appearances;
And no key had you else that was so fit
  T' unlock that prison of your sex as this,
To let you out of weakness, and admit
  Your powers into the freedom of that bliss
That sets you there, where you may oversee
  This rolling world, and view it as it is,
And apprehend how th' out sides do agree
  With th' inward, being of the things we deem,
And hold in our ill cast accounts to be
  Of highest value, and of best esteem:
Since all the good we have rests in the mind,
  By whose proportions only we redeem
Our thoughts from out confusion, and do find
  The measure of ourselves, and of our powers;
And all that happiness remains confin'd
  Within the kingdom of this breast of our's;
Within whose bounds all that we look on flies
  In other jurisdictions, other powers,
Out of the circuit of our liberties.

  All glory, honour, fame, applause, renown,
Are not belonging to our royalties,
  But t' others wills, wherein th'are only grown:
But that unless we find us all within,
  We never can without us be our own;
Nor call it right our life that we live in,

But a possession held for others' use,
That seem to have more interest therein;
Which we do so dissever, part, traduce,
Let out to custom, fashion, and to show,
As we enjoy but only the abuse,
And have no other deed at all to show.
How oft are we constrained to appear
With other countenance than that we owe,
And be ourselves far off, when we are near!
How oft are we forc'd on a cloudy heart
To set a shining face, and make it clear,
Seeming content to put ourselves apart,
To bear a part of others' weaknesses!
As if we only were compos'd by art,
Not nature, and did all our deeds address
T' opinion, not t' a conscience, what is right,
As fram'd b' example, not advisedness,
Into these forms that entertain our sight.
And though books, Madam, cannot make thy mind,
(Which we must bring) apt to be set aright,
Yet do they rectify it in that kind,
And touch it so as that it turns that way
Where judgment lies: and though we cannot find
The certain place of truth, yet do they stay
And entertain us near about the same,
And give the soul the best delight that may
Encheer it most, and most our spirits inflame
To thoughts of glory, and to worthy ends:
And therefore in a course that best became
The clearness of your heart, and best commends
Your worthy powers, you run the rightest way
That is on earth, that can true glory give,
By which, when all consumes, your fame shall live."

Among Ben Jonson's Epigrams we find three, the seventy-sixth, the eighty-fourth, and the ninety-fourth, inscribed to Lucy, Countess of Bedford. The last was accompanied by a present of Donne's Satires.

LUCY HARINGTON,

76th. On Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" This morning, timely rapt with holy fire,
I thought to form unto my zealous muse
What kind of creature I could most desire
To honour, serve, and love, as poets use.
I meant to make her fair, and free, and wise,
Of greatest blood, and yet more good than great:
I meant the day star should not brighter rise,
Nor lend like influence from his lucent seat.
I meant she should be courteous, facile, sweet,
Hating that solemn vice of greatness, pride:
I meant each softest virtue there should meet,
Fit in that softer bosom to reside.
Only a learned and a manly soul
I purpos'd her; that should with even pow'rs
The rock, the spindle, and the sheers, controul
Of Destiny, and spin her own free hours.
Such when I meant to feign, and wish'd to see,
My muse bade Bedford write, and that was she."

84th. To Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" Madam, I told you late, how I repented
I ask'd a Lord a buck, and he denied me:
And, 'ere I could ask you, I was prevented;
For your most noble offer had supplied me.
Straight went I home; and there, most like a poet,
I fancied to myself what wine, what wit,
I would have spent: how ev'ry muse should know it,
And Phœbus self should be at eating it.
O, Madam, if your grant did thus transfer me,
Make it your gift: see whither that will bear me."

94th. To Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

" Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
Life of the muses' day, their morning star,
If works (not th' authors) their own grace should look,
Whose poems would not wish to be your book?
But these desir'd by you, the makers' ends
Crown with their own: rare poems ask rare friends.

Yet satires, since the most of mankind be
Their unavoided subject, fewest see:
For none e'er took that pleasure in sin's sense,
But when they heard it tax'd took more offence.
They then that, living where the matter's bred,
Dare for these poems yet but ask, and read,
And like them too, must needfully, though few,
Be of the best, and 'mongst those best are you;
Lucy, you brightness of our sphere, who are
The muses' ev'ning as their morning star."

Dr. Donne, the high character of whose mind, as well as the severe habits of his pen, must place him beyond any possible suspicion of mercenary motives, addressed several of his poems to her, and wrote an elegy on her death. An extract from one of them will suffice to shew his opinion of her talents.

To the Countess of Bedford.

"T' have written there, when you writ, seem'd to me
Worst of spiritual vices, simony;
And not t' have written then, seems little less
Than worst of civil vices, thanklessness.
In this, my doubt I seem'd loath to confess;
In that, I seem'd to shun beholdingness.
But 'tis not so; nothing, as I am, may
Pay all they have, and yet have all to pay.
Such borrow in their payments, and owe more,
By having leave to do so, than before.
Yet since rich mines in barren grounds are shewn,
May I not yield, not gold, but coal or stone?
Temples were not demolish'd, though profane;
Here Peter Jove's, there Paul has Dian's fane:
So whether my hymns you admit or chuse,
In me you have hallowed a Pagan Muse,
And denizen'd a stranger, who, mistaught
By blamers of the times they marr'd, hath sought
Virtues in corners, which now bravely do
Shine in the world's best part, or all in you.
I have been told that virtue in courtiers' hearts
Suffers an ostracism, and departs.

Profit, ease, fitness, plenty, bid it go,
But whither, only knowing you, I know.
Your, or you virtue two vast uses serves,
It ransoms one sex, and one court preserves.
There's nothing but your worth, which being true,
Is known to any other, not to you:
And you can never know it; to admit
No knowledge of your worth, is some of it.
But since to you your praises discords be,
Stop other ills, to meditate with me.

Oh! to confess we know not what we should
Is half excuse, we know not what we would.
Lightness depresseth us, emptiness fills:
We sweat, and faint, yet still go down the hills.
As new philosophy arrests the sun,
And bids the passive earth about it run,
So we have dull'd our mind; it hath no ends;
Only the body's busy, and pretends:
As dead low earth eclipses and controuls
The quick high moon, so doth the body souls.
In none but us are such mixt engines found
As hands of double office; for the ground
We till with them, and them to heav'n we raise:
Who prayerless labours, or without this prays,
Does but one half; that's none: He which said "Plough,
And look not back," to look up doth allow.
Good seed degenerates, and oft obeys
The soil's disease, and into cockle strays.
Let the mind's thoughts be but translated so
Into the body, and bastardly they grow.
What hate could hurt our bodies like our love?
We, but no foreign tyrants, could remove
These not engrav'd, but inborn dignities;
Caskets of souls, temples and palaces:
For bodies shall from death redeemed be
Souls but preserved, not naturally free.
As men t' our prisons, new souls to us are sent,
Which learn it there, and come in innocent.

First seeds of every creature are in us.
Whate'er the world hath, bad or precious,

Man's body can produce. Hence it hath been
That stones, worms, frogs, and snakes, in man are seen:
But who e'er saw, though nature can work so,
That pearl, or gold, or corn, in man did grow?
We've added to the world Virginia, and sent
Two new stars lately to the firmament:
Why grudge we us, not heaven, the dignity
T' increase with our's those fair souls' company.
But I must end this letter; though it do
Stand on two truths, neither is true to you.
Virtue hath some perversenes, for she will
Neither believe her good, nor others' ill.
Even in your virtues' best paradise
Virtue hath some, but wise, degrees of vice.
Too many virtues, or too much of one,
Begets in you unjust suspicion:
And ignorance of vice makes virtue less;
Quenching compassion of our wretchedness.
But these are riddles; some aspersion
Of vice becomes well some complexion.
Statesmen purge vice with vice, and may corrode
The bad with bad, a spider with a toad:
For so, ill thralls not them, but they tame ill,
And make her do much good against her will.
But in your commonwealth, or world in you,
Vice hath no office, or good work to do.
Take then no vicious purge, but be content
With cordial virtue, your known nourishment."

Even from the grave, which seldom flatters any but its inhabitants, arose her praises. In Twickenham Church, on the monument of her cousin, Bridget, Lady Markham, who died in 1609, we find an epitaph, remarkable enough in other respects, beginning thus—"Brigidæ lectissimæ, piissimæ, innocentissimæ, tamen hoc autem uno quo sexus dignior sexum fassæ quod mater fuit, cætera viri; quæ generi suo quo Jacob. Harringtoni, Eq. Aur. Jo. Baronis de Exton frat. filia fuit itaque inclytæ Luciæ Comitissæ de Bedford sanguine (quod satis) sed et amicitiâ propinquissima, quantum accepit, addidit splendoris," &c.

It would have been strange indeed had the Countess's pen been wholly unemployed, and indeed we find in the foregoing verses more than one allusion to her writings; but no relic perhaps is now to be discovered of her composition. It is equally extraordinary, and no pains have been spared in the search, that she should seem to have made no will. She is said to have spent immense sums, and it is well known that she sold much of the great inheritance which fell to her share, particularly the fine estate of Burleigh on the Hill, which was purchased of her by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who reared on it a noble mansion, which was destroyed during the grand rebellion, but much must still have remained with her. She survived the Earl her husband for many years, but the date of her death, and the place of her burial, are unknown. She has left, by a singular fatality, as it should seem, a splendid reputation, which can neither be supported nor depreciated by the evidence of historical facts.

Engraved by J. Parker.

EDWARD SOMERSET, EARL OF WORCESTER.

OB. 1627.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON[BLE] THE EARL OF VERULAM.

Published July 1, 1824, by Harding, Triphook, and Lepard, Finsbury Square London.

EDWARD SOMERSET,

EARL OF WORCESTER,

WAS the representative, through a double illegitimacy too splendid to reflect disgrace, of the great House of Beaufort, descended from John of Gaunt. So little has been said of him by our historians and biographers that, were it not for the intelligence communicated by his own original letters, many of which I published some years since, we should be at a loss to form any just judgement of his character. We learn from those faithful records that he possessed not only a powerful and richly cultivated understanding, decorated by infinite politeness, but a familiar and easy nature, and a vivacity of temper, at once too frank and too delicate for the imperfect taste of the Court in which he flourished. With this sanguine disposition however, and in the possession of those almost unlimited powers of self gratification which exalted rank and great wealth at that time conferred, his moral conduct was without reproach; and we need no better evidence of the innocence of one who stood so fair a mark for envy than the silence of detraction.

He was the only son of William, third Earl of Worcester of the Somersets, by Christian, daughter to Edward first Lord North. The date of his birth has been variously reported. The inquisition taken on his father's death, in 1589, declares him to have been at that time of the age of thirty-six, and upwards, meaning, as it may be presumed, that he was then in his thirty-seventh year: but this is contradicted by the statement on his tomb of his age at the time of his death. If we are to rely on the first of those authorities, he was born in 1553: if on the latter, in 1544. He came into public life later than common, owing probably to

the unusually protracted term of his father's existence, who reached the age of ninety-seven; but he entered it perfectly accomplished. "In his youth," says Sir Robert Naunton, "part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of the times." Elizabeth, who never undervalued such qualifications, had however been prepossessed in his favour by one of her strongest affections—he was of her consanguinity; for his ancestor Edmund Beaufort, second Duke of Somerset, was brother to the maternal grandfather of Henry the seventh. On the other hand, his religious faith exposed him to contrary prejudices, for he was a steady Roman Catholic. "Although," again says Naunton, "there might appear something in his House which might avert her grace (though not to speak of my Lord himself but with due reverence and honour) I mean contrariety, or suspicion, in religion, yet the Queen ever respected this House, and principally this noble Lord:" and Lloyd, with an agreeable quaintness, tells us that "his mistress excused his faith, which was Popish, and honoured his faithfulness, which was Roman;" and adds that "it was her usual speech that my Lord of Worcester had reconciled what she thought inconsistent, a stiff Papist to a good subject." She called him to her Privy Council; sent him in 1591 Ambassador to Scotland, to congratulate the King on his marriage with Anne of Denmark; and in 1601 appointed him Master of the Horse.

James continued him in that dignified office, and it is highly probable that he would have appeared publicly in the envied and unstable character of favourite but for his own prudent forbearance. To a judgement in public affairs not less sober than acute he joined the strictest integrity, and the closest application; but, above all, he alone, in the whole circle fo that Prince's servants, either in the Cabinet or the Court, seems to have possessed equally the means and the inclination of administering to the comforts of his master. He not only led the chase with vigour,

graced and animated the ball by his elegance and activity, and enlivened the King's more private parties by the good sense and good humour of his conversation, but he appears to have managed during James's long and frequent intervals of absence from his capital the most part of that Prince's confidential correspondence with his ministers. To support and illustrate the view which I have here ventured to take of many features of his character, I will insert two of his letters; the first, to the Privy Council, in the grave spirit of ministerial communication; the second, to Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, written with the unreserved familiarity of private friendship, and the lively and careless jocoseness of an accomplished courtier.

"It may please youer LL. to be advertesed, youer letters to mee directed, signifying the great comfort youe have taken in that wch I wrote of his Ma'. gratious acceptation of youer payns in his service during the tyme of his absence, I thought best to present to his Ma. owne vewe; the rather bycawse I cowld not by my speeche take uppon mee to express so lively as youer own style dothe represent the hartines and zeale wherew^th youe signifie youer inward contentment: and if thought myself not able to expresse youer conceyts to him, much lesse am I to retorne his to youe wth ayny language that may sufficiently represent a true image of his noble and princely hert towards youe in the gratious construction he maks of all youer proceedings. May it therefore suffice youer LL. the rather that yt pleasethe his Ma. to affirm that he accownts a great part of his hapyness to consist in youer loyaltees, wysdoms, and paynfull service, wherin he would willingly beare his part, and by his presence amongst youe make his own and your comfort the greater, yf his healthe did not necessarily requier thes recreations; w^ch, notwithstanding, he wyll readyly leave, whensoever any advertesment from youer LL. shall signify that there is cawse. In the mean tyme, as he easethe himselfe in your travayles, so

dothe hee wyshe youe to take an assured comfort in his gratious acceptance of them.

And now, my honorable LL. geve me leave not onely wth comfort to take notice of your honorable acceptance of my poor endevors, but wth humble thanks to acknowledge the increase of my bond of duty and affection towards youe. Notwithstanding I knowe the have been accompanied wth many errors, and more imperfections, yet suche are youer honorable dispositions as not onely to conceale and shaddow them, but to make a favorable interpretation of that wch many ways deserved reprehension; but my zeal to his Ma^t^. service, and dutiful endevors to gyve youer LL. satisfaction, shall plead for a qualification of the veniall faults of,

Youer LL.' humbly to command,

Thetforde, the 1 of Marche, 1604. E. Worcester."

"I have lately receyved 2 letters from youer good Lo. wherein youe have not onely requited my former wth kind thankfulness, but satisfied in number of lynes to the full, so y^t^ there is lytell expectation that youe will bee in my dett. Truly whensoever I wrote youe a short letter yt was eyther for want of matter, or hastye opportunitye of the messenger, which being lothe to lett pass, chose rather to wryght a littell then nothing at all. Agayn, mayny times wee may have newes of some accydent or other, and before I shall understand of a convenyent messenger my news wylbee stale, and then I omytt it. Lastly, urgent busynes of my own (being subject to howerly attendance, as youe knowe) cawsethe me often, thowgh unwyllingly, to neglect oportunitee; and so de hac re satis dictũ est.

Nowe, my good Lord, to awnswer youer last desier; yt is verye certeyn that his Ma. hath resolved that the Parlament shall begyn the 19 of Marche, and that he will shortly remove to Whithall, but goethe to Royston to hunt, while in the meane space the Queen may remove, and the howsowld, and himself to retorn thether: from thence to the Tower the 12 of March; the 15 to

pass thorowgh London to Whithall, wthowt ayny feast at all; and this is more then certenly cold bee told you, for this day yt was decreed. It is lykewyse resolved that every man shall weare what apparell himself listeth, and we here resolve to ryde uppon footclothes, som of one color, som of another, as they lyke; but the most that I heare of are of purple velvet imbroidered, as fayr as theyr purse wyll afford meanes. The great Ladys are appoynted to ryde in chariots; the Baronesses on horsebake, and they that have no sadells from the King must provide of theyr own: the number provided are 20, wch were provided against the coronation, of crimson velvet; and this is all I can advertes youe for that matter.

Whereas youer Lo. sayethe youe wear never perticulerly advertesed of the maske, I have been at 6^{d} charge wth youe to send youe the booke, wch wyll enform youe better then I can, having noted the names of the ladyes applyed to eche goddess; and, for the other, I would lykewyse have sent youe the ballet, yf I cowld have got yt for money; but these bookes, as I heare, are all cawled in, and in truthe I wyll not take uppon me to set that downe wch wyser then my self doe not understand. This day the King dined abrode wth the Florentine Imbassadore, who takethe now his leave very shortly: he was wth the King at the play at nyght, and sooped wth my Lady Ritche in her chamber. The Frenche Queen, as yt is reported, hathe sent to owr Queen a very fyne present, but not yet delyvered, in regard she was not well thes 2 dayes, and cam not abrode, therfor I cannot advertess the perticulers; but, as I heare, one part is a cabanet, very cunningly wrowght, and inlayed all over wth muske and amber grease, wch makethe a sweet savor; and in every box a severall present of flowers for head tyring, and juells. She hath lykewyse sent to dyverse cowncellors fayr presents of juells, & to mayny ladyes: some to those abowt the King, as Sr Thomas Earskin, Sr James Hey, and others. What the meaning is I cannot conceyve as yet, but tyme wyll discover that wch rarenes maketh a wonder.

Now, having doon wth matters of state, I must a little towche the feminine comon welthe, that agaynst youer coming youe bee not altogether like an ignorant countrey fellow. First, youe must knowe we have ladyes of divers degrees of favor; some for the privat chamber, some for the drawing chamber, some for bedchamber, and some for neither certeyn, and of this number is onely my La. Arbella, and my wife. My Lady of Bedford howldethe fast to the bedchamber; my Lady Harford would fayn, but her husband hathe cawled her home: My Lady of Derbee the yonger, the Lady Suffolke, Ritche, Nottingham, Susan, Walsingham, and, of late, the Lady Sothewell, for the drawing chamber: all the rest for the private chamber, when they are not shutt owt, for mayny times the dores are lokt: but the plotting and mallice amongst them is sutche that I thinke envy hathe teyed an invisibl snake abowt most of ther neks to sting one another to deathe. For the presence there are nowe 5 maids; Cary, Myddellmore, Woodhouse, Gargrave, Roper; the sixt is determyned, but not come: God send them good fortune, for as yet they have no mother. It is confidently reported that my Lady Sothwell shall mary the Master of Orkney, and yt is more then reported that Sr Thomas Erskins hath married Sr Edward Noris his rytche wyddow. And so, presenting my service to my honorable Lady, wyshe youe both a happye arryvall at London shortly: in the mean tyme I wyll rest

Youer Lo.' most affectionate true freend,

Court, 2 of Fe. 1603. E. WORCESTER."

In 1604 he was constituted one of the commissioners for executing the office of Earl Marshall, and was soon after invested with the order of the Garter. He held his post of Master of the Horse till 1615, and on his resignation of it in that year was appointed Lord Privy Seal, of which office he had soon after a new grant, with the enormous salary, considering the high value of money at that time, of fifteen hundred pounds annually. He was now

growing old. "When years," writes Sir Robert Naunton, in the conclusion of his short character of this nobleman, "had abated his exercises of honour, he grew then to be a faithful and profound counsellor, and as I have placed him last, so he was the last liver of all the servants of Queen Elizabeth's favour; and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rest; and, for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, he died rich, and in a peaceable old age; a fate, that I make the last, and none of the slightest observations, which befel not many of the rest, for they expired like unto lights blown out with the snuff stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with offence to the standers by." He departed at his house in the Strand, Westminster, on the third of March, 1627, and was buried in St. Mary's Chapel, in Windsor Castle.

The Earl of Worcester married Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, by whom he had eight sons and seven daughters, William, Lord Herbert, who died unmarried in his father's life-time; Henry, who succeeded to the honours, whom Charles the first, in reward of his unshaken fidelity, created Marquis of Worcester, and from whom the Duke of Beaufort is lineally descended; Thomas, a Knight of the Bath, created in 1626 Viscount Somerset, of Cashel, in Ireland, and died without male issue; Charles, Francis, and Christopher, who died infants; another Charles, likewise a Knight of the Bath, who married, and left three daughters, his coheirs; and Edward, a third Knight of the Bath, who also married, but died childless. The daughters were Elizabeth, married to Sir Henry Guildford, of Hemsted, in Kent; Catherine, to William Lord Petre; Anne, to Sir Edward Winter, of Lidney, in Gloucestershire; Frances, to William, son and heir to William Morgan, of Llanternam in the County of Montgomery; Mary, who died an infant; Blanch, wife of Thomas, eldest son of Thomas Lord Arundel of Wardour; and a second Catherine, married to Thomas, Lord Windsor.

Engraved by W. Holl.

GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES.

OB. 1629.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF ZUCCHERO, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF VERULAM.

Published Sept. 1, 1824; by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London.

GEORGE CAREW,

EARL OF TOTNES.

VARIOUS circumstances have combined to obscure the fame of this great and good man, and to exclude his character from that station amidst British worthies to which it is so justly entitled. He was a wise and honest statesman, a most eminent military commander, and an historian not less estimable for the extent and correctness of his views than for a purity and perspicuity of expression of which few other instances are to be found among the authors of his day: but his counsels, and the labours of his pen, as well as of his sword, were chiefly devoted to the affairs of a nation at that time not only wholly unable to appreciate his deserts, but which was regarded by England with a degree of contempt extending its influence, in some sort, even to all who concerned themselves in any way with that unfortunate and uncivilized people. To this fortuitous impediment were added others which arose out of his nature: a dignified pride that scorned the arts by which men too frequently acquire distinction, and a simplicity of mind which, had he been inclined to use them, would perhaps have disqualified him. He was too modest to blazon his fame with his own hand, and he left no successor to his dignities to cherish and maintain the memory of his worth.

More than one error has occurred regarding his descent. It is stated in the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors that he was a younger son; but he was either born his father's heir, or became so by the death of his only brother in 1580, when a very young man. The ingenious continuator too of that work has founded a doubt as to the peculiar line of the ancient family from which he sprung on the credit of a long inscription on the back of a portrait, remaining in that of his lady, which derives him from

the Carews of Antony, a branch widely distant from his own. There are perhaps few authorities of less value than such inscriptions, the writers and the dates of which are almost always unknown. The fact is that he was the son and heir of a clergyman, George Carew, a cadet of the elder and baronial branch of that once mighty Devonshire family, who was successively Archdeacon of Totnes, Dean of Bristol, of the King's Chapel, of Christchurch Oxon, of Exeter, and of Windsor, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harvey. He was born in 1557, and at the age of fifteen was admitted a gentleman commoner of Pembroke College, then called Broadgate Hall, in Oxford, where he was distinguished by the variety, the rapidity, and the success, of his studies, particularly of historical and legal antiquities, his zeal in the discovery and illustration of which increased with his years, and employed all his hours of leisure.

It is singular that a young man thus disposed should have suddenly adopted the military profession, but there can be little doubt that he was induced to that step by his uncle, James Wingfield, who was then in the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland: certain it is however that he quitted the University without taking a degree, and that we find him soon after serving against the insurgents in the province of Munster. Even so early as 1579, as Camden informs us, he was intrusted with the command, jointly with another, of a garrison town, and sustained, with signal perseverance, a siege which the enemy were at length compelled to relinquish. In the beginning of the following year he was appointed, together with his only brother, Peter Carew, who had accompanied him in this expedition, to the government of a fortress which Camden calls "Asketten Castle," and, on the death of Peter, who fell very shortly after in a skirmish not far from Dublin, remained alone in that trust. Such was the commencement of a career of military service, pursued, with few interruptions, for more than twenty years, and distinguished equally by prudence and bravery. He

rose, through various promotions, to the office of Lieutenant General of the Ordnance in Ireland, to which he probably succeeded on the death of his uncle, having previously received the honour of Knighthood, and was recalled from that country in 1596, to serve in the same capacity in the two excursions against the Spaniards. In the following year he was sent Ambassador to Poland, and in 1599 returned to Ireland, where he was now appointed President of Munster, Treasurer of the Army, and one of the Lords Justices, which latter office was soon after dissolved by the arrival of Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, in the character of Lord Lieutenant. This was the most critical period of the tedious Irish rebellion, the succeeding termination of which may be ascribed almost wholly to his admirable conduct. "Thus far," says Camden, having recited the simultaneous good services of Montjoy, "did the Lord Deputy proceed the very first year, and Sir George Carew made a progress in Munster equally successful, for he was lately made President of that southern province of Ireland, which was desperately harassed by a rebellion which the titular Earl of Desmond had promoted through every part of it; for, in the first place, he so ordered the matter with the commanders of the hired troops from Connaught, that when the rebels had sent for them, he got Dermot O'Connor out of the country by a wile; sent away Redmond O'Burgh, by giving him hopes of retrieving his ancient estate; and dispatched Tirrell by alarming him with the apprehension of being murthered unawares. He moreover so dexterously fomented a suspicion he had before raised among the rebels by sham and counterfeit letters, that they grew jealous, and ran away from one another. After this, he, and the Earl of Thomond, his constant and inseparable friend and assistant, marched against them; took the titular Earl, who was rescued afterwards by the rebels; and either seized on, or took by capitulation, the castles of Loughguire, Crome, Glan," &c. &c. After recounting a long series of gallant and successful exploits performed by officers whom Carew had

charged with particular duties, Camden concludes—“ to be brief, the President, who had found that province so miserably out of order upon his entrance in April,” (1600) “ managed things with that conduct that by December all things were in a quiet posture, and not one single fort stood out against the Queen.”

Satisfied with the measure of glory which he had justly acquired, and conceiving his task of duty now fully accomplished, he languished to return to England, and to pass the remainder of his life in study and retirement. To crown his successes, Fitz Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond mentioned in the extract from Camden, who was the most powerful leader in that part of the island, had lately fallen again into his hands, and had been, by his advice, brought to a trial for high treason, in order to the forfeiture of his great estates. This done, and it appears to have been done with all due regard to law and justice, Carew spared his life, and sent him prisoner to London, together with Florence Maccarty, another eminent chief. At that precise period he addressed the following letter to Elizabeth; curious in many respects, and particularly as a finished specimen of the courtly composition then in vogue. It is printed in his “ Pacata Hibernia,” a work of which more will presently be said.

Sacred and most dread Sovereign,

To my unspeakable joy I have received your Majestie's letter, signed with your royall hand, and blessed with an extraordinarie addition to the same, which, although it cannot increase my faith and zeale in your Majestie's service, whiche from my cradle, I thanke God for it, was ingraffed in my heart, yet it infinitely multiplies my comforts in the same; and wherein my endeavours and poore merites shall appear to bee shorte of such inestimable favours, my never dying prayers for your Majestie's eternall prosperitie shall never faile to the last day of life. But when I compare the felicities which other men enjoy with my unfortunate destinie, to bee deprived from the sight of your royall

person, which my heart with all loyall affection, injurious to none, ever more attends, I live like one lost to himself and wither out my days in torment of minde until it shall please your sacred Majestie to redeem me from this exile, which, unless it be for my sinnes, upon the knees of my heart I doe humbly beseech your Majestie to commiserate, and to shorten the same as speedily as may be. Since my time of banishment in this rebellious kingdome, for better than a banishment I cannot esteeme my fortune that deprives mee from beholding your Majestie's person, although I have not done as much as I desire in the charge I undergo, yet, to make it appear that I have not been idle, I thanke God for it, I have now at length, by the meanes of the White Knight, gotten into my hands the bodie of James Fitz Thomas, that archtraytour, and usurping Earle, whom, for a present, with the best conveniencie and safetie which I may find, I will by some trustie gentleman send unto your Majestie, whereby I hope this province is made sure from any present defection. And, now that my taske is ended, I doe in all humilitie beseech that, in your princelie consideration, my exile may ende, protesting the same to be a greater affliction to me then I can well endure ; for, as my faith is undivided, and onely professed, as by divine and humane lawes the same is bound, in vassalage to your Majestie, so doth my heart covet nothing so much as to be evermore in attendance on your sacred person, accounting it a happinesse unto me to dye at your feet ; not doubting but that your Majestie, out of your princelie bountie, will enable me by some meanes or other to sustaine the rest of my dayes in your service, and that my fortune shall not be the worse in that I am not any importunate craver, or yet in not using other arguments to moove your Majestie thereunto then this—" Assai demanda qui ben serve e face." So, most humblie beseeching your Majestie's pardon in troubling you with these lines, unworthie your divine eyes, doe kisse the shadowes of your royall feet.

From your Majestie's citie of Corke, this third of June, 1601.

Impending circumstances however, unknown to himself, were about to claim his strictest personal attention, and to recal him to the most arduous service. In the spring of that year a secret engagement had been made to the Pope by the King of Spain, to send a powerful force to the succour of the Irish in Munster, and, almost immediately after the date of his letter to the Queen, the rebels, encouraged by the expectation of that aid, again appeared in arms in that province. In the middle of September he suddenly received certain intelligence that the Spanish fleet was then under sail. The Lord Deputy was at that time at Kilkenny, with few attendants, and even without his usual military guard, and it was warmly debated in council whether he should wait there for the assembling of the forces, or return to Dublin. "Some," (to use again the words of Camden, who reports Carew's judgement on that question with an air of peculiar information and accuracy) "thought it best for him to return; and that it was not consistent with the grandeur of a Lord Deputy to go forward with so small a train. The President was very positive in the contrary opinion, viz.—'that he could neither stay there, nor return, without being taxed as timerous and faint-hearted, as well as hazarding the defection of the whole province; and that niceties and punctilios are to be dispensed with where the safety of a kingdom is at stake. It was requisite therefore he should advance forward, and use his authority as Lord Deputy against such as were inclinable to revolt, who would not only in all probability remain more fixed to their duty when overawed by the Lord Deputy's presence, who had been so famous for his happy successes, but would most certainly revolt should he turn back.' The President offering him a guard of two hundred horse, and assuring him that Cork was plentifully furnished with all necessaries, he advanced on with a great deal of chearfulness."

On the twenty-third of September the Spanish fleet, which had been prevented by the failing of wind from reaching Cork, entered the harbour of Kinsale, and landed their troops, who

were received by the people of the town and neighbourhood with open arms. Carew now displayed all the faculties of a great General. With a vigour and coolness by which the warlike operations of that time were little distinguished he desolated the surrounding country, after having made himself master of all the provisions that it afforded; enlisted, and distributed among the most faithful of his bands, those of the better sort of the neighbouring Irish whose attachment he most doubted; and, having seized a castle garrisoned by the Spaniards, and not less conveniently situated for the defence of the English ships on the coast than for the annoyance of the town, and made the most judicious disposition of his army, commenced the siege of Kinsale with the utmost judgement and resolution. It was obstinately defended till the arrival of Montjoy, with a reinforcement, which, though large, was very inferior to the united army of the Spaniards and Irish, whose main body, however, he attacked with great fury. Carew, who in the beginning of the action had been occupied in preventing with signal dexterity any sally by the garrison, joined the Lord Deputy at the moment when the enemy had fallen into some confusion, and the most complete rout ensued; Kinsale was surrendered under articles of capitulation, by which the whole of the Spanish army, consisting of the remains of six thousand men, also put itself into the hands of the conquerors; and this signal victory may be considered as the death-blow to the Irish rebellion.

The disorders necessarily incident to a country which had so lately been the seat of war yet required his presence for a time, and it was not till the spring of the succeeding year that he obtained permission to return to England, where he arrived on the twenty-first of March, three days only before the Queen expired. James received him with the grace and gratitude which he had so largely merited; appointed him Governor of Guernsey; and, on the fourth of June, 1605, advanced him to a Barony, by the title of Lord Carew, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SARA

He was in the same year placed in the offices of Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer to the Queen, sworn of the Privy Council, and named Ambassador to Paris, in which station he remained with the greatest credit for four years; and immediately after his return was appointed Master of the Ordnance for life. After this period he withdrew himself as much as he could from public affairs, and doubtless employed the years which were afterwards spared to him chiefly in amassing, arranging, and illustrating, that great body of now neglected documents which will presently be briefly mentioned. Charles the first, by whom he was highly esteemed, raised him to the dignity of Earl of Totnes, on the first of February, 1625, O. S. the first year of that Prince's reign. He died at the Savoy, in the Strand, on the twenty-seventh of March, 1629, and is buried, under a superb monument, at Stratford upon Avon.

The accounts which have been transmitted to us of the extent of his compositions and collections are nearly incredible. Bishop Nicolson says that he wrote forty-two volumes, relating to the affairs of Ireland, which are preserved in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, and four more of extracts from the Cotton manuscripts. Harris, in his Irish history, tells us that four large volumes, containing "chronologies, letters, muniments, and other materials belonging to Ireland," are in the Bodleian library; and Dugdale states that several others were sold by his executors to Sir Robert Shirley. His printed works are less numerous. He prepared large materials for a history of the reign of Henry the fifth, which are incorporated into Speed's history of Great Britain; and wrote "a Relation of the State of France, with the characters of Henry the fourth, and the principal persons of his court," published by Dr. Birch. He also translated from the old French an historical poem, written in the reign of Richard the second, a specimen of which may be found in Harris's Hibernica. But his principal publication is a History of the wars in Ireland, especially within the province of Munster, from 1599 to 1602, inclu-

sive, better known by the title of "Pacata Hibernia," which was printed in 1633, by his natural son, Thomas Stafford. A question has ridiculously arisen from a single equivocal expression in the preface to that work whether it was composed by himself, or by another from the materials left by him! while a passage in the same document, the meaning of which can admit of no doubt, clearly points him out as the author in the fullest sense of the word. Granger truly observes that "it is written with the unaffected openness and sincerity of a soldier." He might have added that it is not less distinguished by the pure simplicity of its style, and by the most admirable modesty.

The Earl of Totnes married Anne, daughter and sole heir of William Clopton, of Clopton, in the County of Warwick, by whom he acquired great estates, which, on the death of his only son without issue, he, with a noble generosity, impowered her to return to her family. He had by her that son, Peter Carew, mentioned above; and one daughter, Anne, married first to a Mr. Wilsford, or Wilford, of Kent, and, secondly, to Sir Allen Apsley.

Engraved by E. Scriven

SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

OB. 1631.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN

GOLDSMITH'S HALL, LONDON.

Published by Harding, Triphook & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Aug. 1. 1824.

SIR HUGH MIDDLETON.

If superlative public beneficence, and the contrivance and execution of a design worthy of the mind, and requiring nearly the power, of a mighty monarch, may justly claim for a private individual the epithet illustrious, the commemoration of such a person in a work of this nature can need no apology. His history, it is true, is almost wholly confined to that of the stupendous task which he achieved, and indeed in a life devoted to the occupations of a banker in London, and an engineer in the country, we might expect to seek in vain for any of those lively occurrences which animate biography, and excite general interest. The scarcity however of decorative materials could furnish no sufficient excuse for neglecting to raise a monument so justly due, and, though the quarry yield not porphyry or granate, that debt of grateful recollection must be discharged.

Sir Hugh Middleton was the sixth son of Richard Middleton, of the town of Denbigh, by Jane, daughter of Richard Dryhurst, of the same place. His family was of the highest antiquity in Wales, and his father, though a younger brother, seems from some circumstances to have possessed a considerable property, yet, being burthened with a very numerous progeny, nine sons, and four daughters, he found it convenient to devote two of the younger, Thomas and Hugh, to commerce, and for that purpose sent them to London, where Hugh became a member of the company of goldsmiths, and exercised that trade. Of his success in it we are not informed, but certain it is that the main source of the great wealth of which he became possessed was in his own country. As soon as he had acquired sufficient property in his business to enable him to prosecute hopefully such an under-

taking, he obtained from the company of the mines royal the lease of a copper mine, for such only had it been esteemed, in the county of Cardigan, at an annual rent of four hundred pounds. With a natural inclination for such pursuits, and the aid of some experience, for he had busied himself much in the earlier part of his life in searching for coal near his native place, he applied himself so successfully to this new work as to discover a vein of silver, which is said to have yielded, we are not told for how many years, a produce from which he gained the enormous sum of two thousand pounds monthly.

Thus suddenly and greatly enriched, he determined to adopt the celebrated scheme for the better supply of water to London, through the means of that artificial stream so well known by the name of the New River. I say adopt, because it had been long before projected. The corporation of London had obtained an act of parliament so early as the tenth year of Elizabeth, and two others, in the third and fourth of James, authorising them to form an aqueduct from any part of Middlesex or Hertfordshire to that city, but no man, or body of men, had hitherto been found hardy enough to undertake a work the difficulty and hazard of which were little less formidable than the expence. Middleton at length stood forward alone, and on the first of April, 1606, the city assigned to him and his heirs all the powers and privileges conferred by those statutes. Nearly two years were passed in surveying the various waters of the two counties, and in necessary experiments and deliberations, when two springs, the one in the parish of Amwell, in Herts; the other, called Chadwell, near the town of Ware, were chosen; and on the first of February, 1608, the great operation was actually commenced.

The New River is so well known that it would be superfluous to give here any detailed account of it. Suffice it to say that, having united the two streams as near to their respective sources as the nature of the ground would permit, he led it on its winding course, sometimes in deep channels, cut often with enormous

labour through stubborn soils; sometimes raised aloft on arches; building over it (a number since considerably diminished) eight hundred bridges of various dimensions; and seldom employing fewer than six hundred workmen. When it had reached Enfield his wealth was nearly exhausted. He requested aid from the Lord Mayor and commonalty of the city, and, on being basely refused, besought it of the Crown. James, with more caution however than liberality, assented, and agreed, by an indenture under the Great Seal, dated the second of May, 1612, to pay half the expence of the whole, in consideration of an assignment of a moiety of the profits, which Middleton readily executed. He delivered accordingly into the treasury an account of his disbursements, and received from the King between the years 1612 and 1614 six thousand, three hundred, and forty-seven pounds, which seems to have been all that was at any time paid under that agreement; though a pamphlet of the day makes the sum nearly eight thousand. The work was now prosecuted with increased alacrity, and on Michaelmas-day, 1613, this marvellous stream, the sinuous course of which extends thirty-nine miles, fell first into the cistern at Islington, now known by the name of the "New River Head."

We are not informed, and it is most difficult to conceive, what obstacles could have prevented the unbounded success of such an undertaking. The whole of London had till now derived its supply of water from sixteen public conduits, together with partial aids from the Thames, raised by imperfect and awkward machinery: custom however seems to have reconciled the sluggish citizens to the inconvenience, and strenuous endeavours, the motives to which it is not easy to guess, are said to have been made to depreciate, as well by ridicule as argument, the advantages promised by the accomplishment of this grand design. It was not till 1619 that the parties chiefly interested in it obtained sufficient encouragement to induce them to apply for a charter of incorporation; but on the twenty-first of June in that year,

the King granted Letters patent to Hugh Middleton; to his brother, Sir Thomas Middleton, an Alderman of London; Sir Henry Montague, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; Ralph, son of Hugh Middleton; and twenty-three others; constituting them a public society, by the style of the "Governors and Company of the New River, brought from Chadwell and Amwell to London." On the twenty-second of October, 1622, James testified his peculiar approbation of the work, and of its author, by conferring on him the title of Baronet.

This empty honour was the sole recompense that poor Middleton ever received. He became embarrassed in his pecuniary circumstances, and is said to have been compelled by his necessities to adopt the business of an ordinary surveyor, a report which the terms of his last will seem completely to invalidate. He had divided his moiety of the property into thirty-six shares, of which he retained thirteen for himself, but so unprosperous were the affairs of the company, that no dividend was made till 1633, and then not to the amount of twelve pounds on each share. The second scarcely exceeded a fourth part of that sum; and, instead of a third, it was becoming necessary to make further disbursements, when Charles the first, on the eighteenth of November, 1636, reconveyed, not to Sir Hugh, as we find invariably and most erroneously stated, for he died five years before that date, but probably to his heir, the moiety formerly assigned to the Crown, in consideration of a fee farm rent of five hundred pounds annually, out of the profits of the company. Such are the variations in the value of property of this nature that a single share has been of late years sold for fifteen thousand pounds.

Sir Hugh Middleton died between the twenty-first of November, 1631, on which day his will his dated, and the twenty-first of the following month when it was proved. He had been twice married; first, to Anne, daughter of a Mr. Collins, of Lichfield, and widow of Richard Edwards, of London, who died childless; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter and heir of John Olmsted, of Ingatestone,

in Essex, by whom he had ten sons, and six daughters. The sons were Thomas and Hugh, who died unmarried; William, who inherited his father's title; James, Henry, Robert, Bartholomew, John, Ralph, and Simon. From these, with the exception of the last, all issue is apparently extinct; but Jabez Middleton, a lineal descendant from Simon, remains, and is, or lately was, a petitioner to that wealthy body which now enjoys the fruit of the exertions of his meritorious and enterprising ancestor, for some small pittance to rescue his old age from the necessity of labour. The daughters of Sir Hugh were Elizabeth, Jane, another Elizabeth, Anne, Esther, and Mary; of whom we have little information but that the first died in childhood, that the second was married to Peter Chamberlain, Doctor of Physic, and the fifth to Richard Price. Some few particulars indeed relative to them occur in his will, of which, as it has not hitherto been published, a short abstract shall close this sketch.

He desires to be buried in the parish church of St. Matthew, in London, of which he was sometime an inhabitant; bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth, all the "chains, rings, jewels, pearls, bracelets, and gold buttons, which she hath in her custody, and useth to wear at festivals; and the deep silver basin, spout pot, maudlin cup, and small bowl." To his son William, one hundred pounds, he having already had his full portion. To his daughter Jane, and her husband, Doctor Chamberlain, ten pounds each. His daughter Esther "having had already one thousand pounds, in part of her portion of nineteen hundred, and the other nine hundred being detained till the articles on the part of the Lady Price are performed which were agreed on in the behalf of her grandson, Richard Price, Esq.," he gives to that Richard, and to the said Esther his wife, ten pounds each, in addition to that nine hundred. To his sons Henry and Simon Middleton four hundred pounds each; and to each of his daughters, Elizabeth and Anne Middleton five hundred. To the poor of the parish of Heullan, in which he was born, twenty pounds; the same sum to the town

of Denbigh; and five pounds to the parish of Amwell in Herts. To his nephew Captain Roger Middleton thirty pounds. To Richard Newell, and Howell Jones, thirty pounds each, "to the end that the former may continue his care in the works of the mines royal, and the latter in the waterworks," where they were then respectively employed. Directs that his shares in the mines royal, in the Principality of Wales, shall be sold. Gives to his wife the "profits of the New River," for her life, but directs that if the produce of the sale of his mine shares should be insufficient for the payment of his debts, such of the New River shares as shall make up the deficiency, not however exceeding four, shall be sold for that purpose. Gives, after the death of his wife, to his sons Henry and Simon, and his daughters Elizabeth and Anne, and their heirs respectively, one share each in the New River; and one share, in trust to ten persons, citizens and goldsmiths, to be divided among the poor of that company, at the rate of twelve pence weekly to each, "especially to such as shall be of his name, kindred, or country." Bequeaths his house at Bush-hills, Edmonton, and the furniture in it, to his wife, for her life, with remainder to his youngest son Simon, and his heirs; and gives her "the keeping and wearing of the great jewel given to him by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and, after her decease, to such one of his sons as she may think most worthy to wear and enjoy it." To his brother, Robert Bateman, twenty pounds: to Peter Hynde and his wife, twenty pounds: to Mr. William Lewyn, an annuity of twenty pounds; to his nephews Sir Thomas Middleton and Timothy Middleton, twenty pounds each; and to each of his men servants five pounds. He constitutes his wife sole executrix, and his brother Sir Thomas Middleton, knight, his brother Bateman, and his nephews Roger and Richard Middleton, overseers.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

ROBERT GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE.

OB. 1643.

FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THE EARL OF WARWICK.

London, Published Feb 1, 1824, by Harding, Mavor & Lepard.

ROBERT GREVILLE,

SECOND LORD BROOKE.

Sir Fulke Greville, whose portrait may be found in this work, together with some account of his life, having been created a Baron when he was at an advanced age, and unmarried, the honour was limited by his patent, in default of heirs male of his own body, to his kinsman, Robert Greville, of whom I am now to speak, and who was the only son of Fulke Greville, of Thorpe Latimer, in Lincolnshire, first cousin to Sir Fulke, by Mary, daughter of Christopher Copley, of Sprotborough, in the county of York. His noble predecessor, however, many years before he obtained, or perhaps even expected, the dignity of Peerage, had considered this Robert as his adopted son, and prepared him from the age of four years, by a suitable breeding, to fill worthily that rank in society in which he could not but be placed by the inheritance of a great estate. His education therefore, as a gentleman as well as a scholar, was conducted with the nicest care, in Sir Fulke's house, and afterwards in the University of Cambridge, which he left to travel on the continent, and, returning in 1627, was immediately after elected to serve for the borough of Warwick in the Parliament which was called and dissolved early in that year. In the autumn of the following, when he had barely passed the age of twenty-one, he succeeded to the Barony on the sudden and lamentable death of the first Lord, and was shortly after married to the Lady Catherine Russell, eldest daughter of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford.

It has been said that his mind became strongly tainted by puritan, and consequently republican, principles during his stay abroad; but it is little likely that his kind and careful kinsman,

who was himself a pattern of politeness as well as of loyalty, should have sent him to finish his education among the Calvinists of Germany or Switzerland. It is far more probable, as has been also asserted, that the first bias was given to his political prejudices by his father-in-law, who, partly from natural restlessness, and more from ambition, stood foremost among those who opposed the government of Charles the first in the hope of being appointed to direct his measures. Brooke, however, in whom a hot and energetic temper seems to have been joined to an upright heart, ran far beyond the intention of his teachers, who it may be reasonably supposed had forborn to entrust their real views to his youth and inexperience. He became a sincere republican, and his hatred of the Hierarchy even exceeded his enmity to the Throne. Few among the disaffected were of that character, and they therefore held the more firmly together. He attached himself peculiarly to the Viscount Say, a veteran of that small party, less pure and more malignant than himself; and, the prospect of rebellion at home being then uncertain, or at all events distant, they determined to fly together to some land of promise, where Kings and Courts should be unknown, and systems of government more at the mercy of speculators. They purchased therefore, from Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, an extensive tract of Land in New England, which had been granted to him by the Crown, and in 1635 dispatched thither an agent, of the name of Fenwick, with powers and instructions to found a settlement, which succeded so well that a town was presently built, and called, after their joint names, Saybrooke.

Before, however, it was ready for their reception the ferment of parties had arisen to such a height as to give them a fair hope of sufficient employment in their own country. They delayed their voyage from time to time, as the storm gradually gathered, and at length finally determined to abandon their project on the breaking out of the Scottish rebellion. On that unhappy occasion it is well known that Charles resolved to lead his army in

person to the borders; to summon his nobility to meet him on his way, at York, on an appointed day; and then to require them, as well as those of Scotland who were about the Court, to sign a short declaration of their loyalty and obedience, and of their abhorence of the proceedings in that country. "Amongst the English nobility," says Lord Clarendon, "the Lord Say and the Lord Brooke, two popular men, and most undevoted to the Church, and, in truth to the whole government, positively refused, in the King's own presence, to make any such protestation. They said if the King suspected their loyalty he might proceed against them as he thought fit, but that it was against the law to impose any oaths or protestations upon them which were not enjoined by the law; and in that respect, that they might not betray the common liberty, they would not submit to it. This administered matter of new dispute in a very unseasonable time; and, though there did not then appear more of the same mind, and they two were committed, at least restrained of their liberty, yet this discovered too much of the humour and spirit of the Court in their daily discourses upon that subject; so that the King thought it best to dismiss those two Lords, and require them to return to their houses."

The determined spirit, and the rigid candour, evinced by this refusal, highly recommended Lord Brooke to a party which just at that time stood particularly in need of bold men, with unsuspected motives. He was courted accordingly by the disaffected with unremitting assiduity, and most willingly undertook to become their leader in the House of Lords, for they placed, according to Lord Clarendon, the most entire confidence in him. In the mean time the King endeavoured to persuade him by several civil offices that his late conduct at York had not been interpreted in his disfavour; summoned him again to the great council of Peers which was held in that City in September, 1640; and appointed him one of the Commissioners for the treaty which was soon after held at Ripon with the Scots. His acceptance of

that trust, if he meant to exercise it, seems to have been the only circumstance of his life which tended to cast a doubt on his sincerity, for it afforded no alternative to him but to betray the King, or his own party, and if he engaged actively in the negotiations, a fact not ascertained by history, he certainly adopted the former course. Upon the removal of the treaty to London, on the meeting of the Long Parliament, he returned to distinguish himself in that assembly by the most bitter virulence against Laud and Strafford, and the most earnest endeavours to crush the whole fabrick of Church and State; and when the King was at length driven to the fatal necessity of taking up arms, appeared among the first to oppose the royal cause in the field, with the utmost fury of mis-directed zeal and activity.

Warwickshire, and its vicinity, in which he possessed that sort of influence which then necessarily attended the possession of large estates, was the scene of his military operations. In the summer of 1642 he received a commission from the Parliament to array the militia of that county, and of Staffordshire, and having put his fine castle into as good a state of defence as the means of the country could allow, repaired to London for a further supply of military stores, with which he had proceeded as far on his return as Edgehill, when he was met by the Earl of Northampton, who forced him to retreat to Banbury, where he was compelled by the vigilance of that nobleman to abandon his cannon, which the Earl immediately employed to besiege Warwick Castle. Brooke, however, presently procured a reinforcement, and, having gained the advantage in a hot skirmish, raised the siege, which had been with difficulty sustained for the space of a fortnight. He remained there till the autumn, when the Earl of Essex, with the main body of the rebel army, arrived in the town, on their way to attack the royalists, commanded by the King in person, whom they expected to find at Worcester. Brooke joined them, and they marched into that county, where they learned that the royal army had filed off by Shrewsbury to the borders of

Oxford and Warwickshire, and he was detached therefore again to Warwick, with directions to meet Essex, with supplies of arms and ammunition. He dispatched them accordingly, and, following the next morning, arrived at the moment when the fortune of the day had suddenly turned in favour of the rebels in the battle of Edgehill, where his own regiment had eminently distinguished itself. Essex, and his principal officers, retired with Brooke after the action to Warwick Castle, for a short repose; and thither were conducted also the principal royalist prisoners, together with their gallant and lamented general, the Earl of Lindsey, who died of his wounds within the walls, but before he could be conveyed to an apartment.

On the seventh of January, 1643, he was appointed by the Parliament General of the rebel forces in a large tract of country, described in his commission " the associated counties of Warwick and Stafford, and the parts adjacent." Warwickshire being already in a manner devoted to him, what small opposition remained there was presently subdued, and he marched, with twelve hundred men, against Lichfield, which was held by a very slender force, under the command of Lord Chesterfield. Of the events which occured in that enterprise I will give Lord Clarendon's account in his own words; not only because it supplies some hints of Lord Brooke's character, of which little has been communicated elsewhere, but for the sake of shewing how far the noble historian was justly liable to the censure of superstition which has been so largely cast on him by an admired author of his own rank, not long since deceased, for merely mentioning in that passage some idle prejudices which a singular coincidence of circumstances had excited in the minds of others.

" Some gentlemen of that county," says Lord Clarendon, " rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in Lichfield foı the King a place naturally strong, and defended with a moat, and a very high and thick wall, which in the infancy

of the war was thought a good fortification. To supperss this growing force, within the limits of his association, the Lord Brooke advanced, with a formed body of horse, foot, and cannon, part drawn from the Earl of Essex's army, and the rest out of the garrisons of Coventry and Warwick, and, without any resistance, entered the city of Lichfield, which, being unfortified, was open to all comers. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged that himself lodged in a house within musquet shot of the Close, where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his chamber, and the window open, he was from the wall of the Close by a common soldier shot with a musquet in the eye, of which he instantly died, without speaking a word. There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon St. Chad's day, (being the second day of March) by whose name, he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of christianity in this island, that church had been anciently called: and it was reported that in his prayer that very morning, for he used to pray publicly, though his chaplain were in the presence, he wished that if the cause he were in were not right and just he might be presently cut off. They who were acquainted with him believed him to be well natured, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding, than perverse and malicious. Whether his passions or conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the government of Church or State; and therefore his death was looked upon as no ill omen to peace, and was exceedingly lamented by his party, which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any man than in him."

Milton, in addressing himself to the Parliament for "the liberty of unlicensed printing," bestows the following eulogium on the memory of this nobleman, whose practice appears to have differed so lamentably from his professions. "I shall only repeat what I have learned from one of your honourable members, who, had he not sacrificed his life and fortune to the Church and Common-

wealth, we had not now missed and bewailed a worthy and undoubted patron of this argument. Ye knew him I am sure; yet I, for honour's sake, and may it be eternal to him, shall name him—the Lord Brooke. He, writing of Episcopacy, and, by the way, treating of sects and schisms, left you his vote, or rather, now, the last words of his dying charge, which I know will ever be of dear and honoured regard with you; so full of meekness, and breathing charity, that, next to the last testament of him who bequeathed love and peace to his disciples, I cannot call to mind where I have met with words more mild and peaceful. He there exhorts us to bear with patience and humility those, however they may be miscalled, who desire to live purely in such use of God's ordinances as the best guidance of their conscience gives them; and to tolerate them, though in some disconformity to ourselves. The book itself will tell us more at large, being published to the world, and dedicated to the Parliament, by him who, both for his life and for his death, deserves that what advice he left should not lie by without perusal."

The book alluded to by Milton was "a Discourse, opening the Nature of that Episcopacy which is exercised in England: wherein, with all humility, are represented some considerations tending to the much desired peace, and long expected reformation, of this our Mother Church; dedicated to the most noble Lords, with the Honourable Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, assembled in Parliament." This treatise, which was published in 1641, was not the only fruit of Lord Brooke's pen. He printed in the same year a metaphysical work, which proves that he could think with precision, and argue with force, intituled "The Nature of Truth; its Union and Unity with the Soul, which is one in its Essence—Faculties—Acts—one with Truth." Four of his speeches also remain in print: two "spoken in the Guildhall, London, concerning his Majesty's refusal of a treaty of peace;" 1642—" An Answer to the Speech of Philip Earl of Pembroke, concerning accommodation, in the House of Lords, Dec. 19, 1642."

—and his "Speech at the Election of his Captains and Commanders at Warwick Castle," 1643.

I have already spoken of Lord Brooke's marriage. He had five sons, of whom the third and fourth, Edward and Algernon, died young, and unmarried. Francis, and Robert, the first and second, successively held the dignity, and died without male issue; and it descended at length to Fulke, the fifth son, a posthumous child, ancestor to the present Earl Brooke, and Earl of Warwick, on whose grandfather, Francis, eighth Lord Brooke, those higher dignities were conferred by his late Majesty.

Engraved by W. Freeman.

WILLIAM, DUKE OF HAMILTON.

OB. 1651.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF MYTENS, IN THE COLLECTION OF

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON.

London, Published Feb. 1.1824, by Harding, Mavor, and Lepard.

WILLIAM,

SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON,

WAS the second of the two sons of James, second Marquis of Hamilton, by Anne, daughter of James Conyngham, seventh Earl of Glencairn, and was brother to James, the first Duke, a sketch of whose life may be found in this work. He was born on the fourteenth of December, 1616, ten years after that nobleman, and, having made some stay in the University of Glasgow, completed in a long residence on the continent an education in which we are told that erudition was less considered than that observation of men, and manners, and systems, so necessary to all whose views are directed to the higher orders of public employment. It is evident that he was so designed by his family, and his success could have been scarcely doubtful, for he was of the royal blood; and, while he was yet a child, his brother had gained the entire affection of Charles the first: in the mean time he was distinguished by the most promising talents. He returned from his travels in his twenty-first year, and with such confidence of immediate promotion, that on being shortly after refused the appointment of Master of the Horse to the Queen, because it had been promised to another, he prepared, with all the anger of a man who had been really ill used, to retire to France, and was dissuaded solely by an unsolicited promise from the King of instant preferment. Accordingly on the thirty-first of March, 1639, he was created Baron Polmont, and Macanshire, and Earl of Lanerick, (Lanark) and in the following year was appointed Secretary of State for Scotland. These circumstances sufficiently prove not only the high degree of favour which he suddenly acquired, but the resolute and ardent temper which is said to have been the ruling feature in his character.

It is scarcely necessary to say that he was nearly unacquainted with the affairs of that country, then peculiarly critical. To his brother therefore, a man not only well experienced in them, but of considerable ability, and so many years older than himself, he naturally looked for direction. Among the various misfortunes which at that period combined to undermine the regal power in Scotland perhaps the most evident was Charles's partiality to the House of Hamilton. The mother of these noblemen, a woman of powerful understanding, and of masculine spirit and activity, whose father was one of the fathers of the covenant, had implanted in the mind of her heir, even from his earliest infancy, an enthusiastic attachment to the new fanaticism, and he communicated the infection to his brother. They conceived between them the utterly impracticable project of uniting to a Monarchy of high pretensions a Calvinistic church. The Duke remained stedfast in his error to the last moment of his life, but Lanerick at length retracted; not however till he had considerably injured the royal cause, to which notwithstanding he was most loyally devoted.

Thus for more than two years after his entrance into his office he was alternately occupied in beseeching the King to bend to the humiliating demands of the covenanters, and in endeavouring to dissuade them from actual rebellion, and failed in both. At length, in the spring of 1643, the Scottish Privy Council determined on calling, without the King's necessary warrant, a Parliament, under the denomination of a Convention of the Estates. A large correspondence on this subject between Charles, the Duke of Hamilton, and Lanerick, is extant, and closes with a letter from the King to the Secretary, concluding with this clear direction— "If, notwithstanding our refusal, and the endeavours of our well-affected subjects and servants to hinder it, there shall be a convention of the Estates, then we wish that all those who are right-affected to us should be present at it; but to do nothing there, but only protest against their meeting and actions." On the twenty-second of June, this convention, which in the end

overthrew the royal authority in Scotland, assembled. Lanerick, at their first sitting, presented a letter from the King, excusing them for meeting without his concurrence, and limiting their deliberations to certain subjects; and Hamilton, in a speech of studied ambiguity, instead of simply protesting, as the King had requested, obscurely threatened it. The assembly however, confident in its strength, and pre-determined on its course, insisted on his making an explicit declaration, when Lanerick stood up, and said for his brother, as Lord Clarendon reports, that "he hoped that noble Lord's affections to his country were better known than that any man could imagine he would protest against the Parliament of the kingdom." They contented themselves with making a verbal declaration that it was not in their opinion a free Convention, the King's sanction being wanting. Those who had pledged themselves to support in it the royal cause became discouraged, and many of them retired to their respective countries: Lanerick and Hamilton continued to sit in silence occasionally in the Convention; and when that body, shortly after, following the example of their brethren of the English Parliament, resolved to make war on the King with an army raised by them in his name, Lanerick actually put the royal signet, which in right of his office was in his custody, to the proclamation for the general levy.

The loyal nobility of Scotland were highly incensed by this conduct, and Montrose, whose devotion to the royal cause was equalled only by the courage with which he always defended it, set out privately to accuse the brothers to the King; but they soon discovered his intention; followed him to Oxford, where Charles then was, apparently in the hope of averting the storm which threatened them; and were immediately made prisoners. Lanerick, by the aid of a Mr. Cunningham, a gentleman of the privy chamber, presently found means to escape, and went to London, and soon after into Scotland, where he again applied himself, still, however, under the influence of that temporising

and suspicious policy which he had imbibed from the lessons and the example of his brother, to the King's service. Of the conduct of a partisan so circumstanced it is natural that little should have transpired. The only fact of which we are clearly informed is that he was in 1645 actively engaged with the covenanters in endeavouring to resist the progress of Montrose's victorious arms; and it may be reasonably inferred that he had Charles's secret consent to this, since that Prince almost immediately after received him again into the office of Secretary, from which he had been dismissed on his arrest at Oxford, and indeed into the fullest confidence. In the spring of the following year he was appointed, together with the Earls of Loudon and Lauderdale, by the rebel government sitting at Edinburgh under the name of the Committee of Estate, a commissioner to treat with the King, then in the hands of the Scottish army, as well as with such commissioners as might arrive from the English Parliament, and seemed to join heartily in the persecution which they were deputed to inflict on that unhappy Prince. Just at that period, the Duke, his brother, who had been for nearly three years in apparent disgrace, and a prisoner in the Castle of Pendennis, in Cornwall, from whence he was liberated merely by the fortune of war, arrived at Newcastle, and presented himself to the King, who received him with a countenance which implied a complete oblivion of all former causes of offence. The secret understanding which undoubtedly subsisted between Charles and these brothers is enveloped in a cloud of mystery, towards the dispelling of which history has left us even without tolerable presumptions.

The close of this year, 1646, was distinguished by the fruitless negotiation at Newcastle between the King and the Scottish Parliament. Lanerick, who was almost the sole instrument of their intercourse, exhorted Charles without intermission to submit to all the bitter conditions propounded to him, but found his magnanimity immoveable. At length the Parliament resolved to put him into the hands of the English commissioners. When

that detestable measure was proposed to the House, Lanerick prefaced his negative voice with these words:—"As God shall have mercy upon my soul at the great day I would choose rather to have my head struck off at the market cross of Edinburgh than give my consent to this vote." Charles for the most part of his succeeding captivity found means to correspond with him, and held him to the last in unabated confidence. In December, 1647, he concluded with the King, in the Isle of Wight, in concert with Loudon and Lauderdale, still acting under the authority of the commission granted to them two years before, that remarkable secret treaty which they had lately commenced with his Majesty at Hampton Court. Charles, to whom at this period almost any change of circumstances would have been desirable, now conceded all that he had refused at Newcastle; and the Scots, on their part, engaged to raise a powerful army for the invasion of England, and to do their utmost to re-establish his authority. The army was levied accordingly, by authority of the Parliament; placed under the command of the Duke of Hamilton; and totally overthrown within few weeks after it left Scotland. Lanerick, who in the mean time had been exerting himself to the utmost in that country in promoting the views of those who had joined in support of the stipulations of the treaty, and who were therefore called "The Lords of Engagement," was now deprived of his office of Secretary of State, and proscribed, by the same Parliament, which had so lately authorized those measures his activity and zeal in the execution of which were the only faults alledged against him.

He fled to Holland so nearly at the time when Hamilton was beheaded in London, which was on the sixth of March, 1649, that Lord Clarendon says "he did not know till he arrived there that he was Duke of Hamilton, by the slaughter of his elder brother." Charles the Second, who had taken refuge in that country, and who had been deprived of his royal father by a similar stroke only five weeks before, received him with a grace

and kindness, heightened no doubt by melancholy sympathy. The Duke, whose entire affection, and indeed veneration, for his brother had never allowed him to reason on the dictates of one to whom in all matters he submitted with delight, or to seek for motives in his own breast, after some little time looked back with deep regret to many things that he had done, and more that he had omitted. He declared, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "that his condition had been very hard; for that having been always bred up in the Church of England, for which he had a great reverence, he was forced to comply with the covenant, which he perfectly detested, and looked upon it as the ruin of his nation, and would be as glad as any man to declare against it." He added, that "he had been driven into rebellion by the calumnies and persecution of Montrose," (who was indeed his brother's bitter enemy), "which nothing else could have done; and for that he always asked God forgiveness from his heart, and desired nothing more than to repair his fault by losing his life for the King." Unhappily that expiation was near at hand.

He presently acquired the young King's esteem. The Order of the Garter, all that Charles then had to give, was conferred on him soon after his arrival. He was of the number which attended that Prince in his voyage to Scotland in June 1650; but was not at first permitted by the ruling party there to approach the capital, and retired therefore to the Isle of Arran, where he remained till the succeeding January, when he was again suffered to wait on the King. Cromwell was then in Scotland, at the head of the army which had lately won the battle of Dunbar, and the Duke, now first a soldier, raised a body of troops, and led them with distinguished gallantry in several enterprises. In the mean time the Scots formed an army destined to march into England under the command of the King, who appointed Hamilton his Lieutenant-General. He entered on this great service with melancholy forebodings, not the result of any superstitious impressions, but of a just and enlarged review of all the

considerations which the enterprize involved. On the march he earnestly recommended in more than one council that the army should proceed directly to London, but his opinion was overruled by the English. They arrived at length at Worcester, and Cromwell, who had therefore left Scotland, advanced to meet them with an overwhelming force. Hamilton, who had passed the night preceding the battle in devout meditation, the fruits of which have been published by Bishop Burnet from the Duke's original manuscript, was in the morning at his proper post, when, early in the action, seeing his own regiment retreating, he flew alone to rally it; and, after performing prodigies of valour, received a shot which shattered the bone of his leg. He survived eight days, and expired on the eleventh of September, 1651, amidst the debates of surgeons, who could not agree on the question of amputation.

Lord Clarendon, who has repeatedly eulogized his character, tells us, that "he was in all respects to be preferred to his brother. A much wiser, though, it may be, a less cunning man; for he did not affect dissimulation, which was the other's masterpiece. He had unquestionable courage. He was in truth a very accomplished person; of an excellent judgement, and clear and ready expressions; and, though he had been driven into some unwarrantable actions, he made it very evident he had not been led by any inclinations of his own, and passionately and heartily ran to all opportunities of redeeming it; and in the very article of his death he expressed a marvellous cheerfulness that he had the honour to lose his life in the King's service, and thereby to wipe out the memory of his former transgressions, which he always professed were odious to himself." Burnet tells us that "his youth discovered, with an extraordinary capacity, so much ingenuity that candour seemed in him not so much the effect of virtue as nature, since from a child he could never upon any temptation be made to lie." The Bishop adds that "he was of a middle stature; his complexion black, but very agreeable; and his whole mien was noble and sprightful."

WILLIAM, SECOND DUKE OF HAMILTON.

William, second Duke of Hamilton, married, in 1638, Elizabeth, eldest daughter and co-heir of James Maxwell, Earl of Dirleton in Scotland, and had by her one son, James, Lord Polmont, who died an infant, and five daughters; Anne, wife of Robert Carnegy, third Earl of Southesk; Elizabeth, married first to James Conyngham, Lord Kilmaurs, eldest son of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn; secondly, to Sir David Cunningham, of Robertland; Mary, married to Alexander Livingstone, second Earl of Calendar; secondly, to Sir James Livingstone, of Westquarter; thirdly, to James Ogilvie, Earl of Findlater; Margaret, to William Blair, of Blair, and Diana, who died young.

Engraved by T. A. Dean.

DOROTHY PERCY, COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

OB. 1659.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON.BLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Published Oct. 1, 1824, by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London.

DOROTHY PERCY,

COUNTESS OF LEICESTER.

This lady was the eldest daughter of Henry Percy, ninth Earl of Northumberland of his family, by Dorothy, daughter of Walter, first Earl of Essex of the house of Devereux. The scattered notices which remain of her are few, and mostly of a private and domestic sort, but they afford ample proof of the integrity of her heart, and the benignity of her temper; of excellent understanding, and the most refined politeness. Mild, timid, and cautious, the misfortunes of her family, on the sides both of her father and mother, probably inspired her with a distaste to the objects usually so eagerly sought by persons of her rank, and taught her to seek security and peace in the bosom of her family; while the same cause, operating on an opposite character, made her haughty and eccentric sister, the famous Lucy, Countess of Carlisle, an intriguing courtier, and a busy politician.

She was married in 1618 to Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, a nobleman of great worth and accomplishments, with whom she lived for nearly half a century in the most perfect connubial felicity. I have now before me one of her letters to him, then ambassador at Paris, written eighteen years after their marriage, which, after having treated in it at great length, and with much acuteness and judgment, of some matters of state at home in which his interests were concerned, she thus concludes:—"Mr. Seladine comes in with your letter, whom I am engaged to intertaine a litle: besyeds, it is super time, or els I should bestow one sied of this paper in making love to you; and, since I maie with modestie expres it, I will saie that if it be love to thinke on you, sleeping and waking; to discourse of nothing with pleasur

but what conserns you; to wische myself everie hower with you; and to praie for you with as much devotion as for my owne sowle; then sertainlie it maie be saied that I am in love."

With her own family less harmony seems to have prevailed. Some cause of disagreement, now unknown, appears to have long subsisted between her brother, Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, and her lord; and Northumberland, whose character united to great strictness of honour and morality their too frequent concomitant, an imperious and severe temper, suffered his resentment to extend to his amiable sister. Allusions to this misfortune appeared in a letter addressed to him by Leicester, on the eighth of October, 1632, from Rensburgh, in Holstein, in which, among other conciliatory efforts, expressed with equal warmth, is the following passage: "I love you so much that I think I shall not profane the word of God, the fountaine of truth, if I take this saying out of it, and apply it to myself; that 'my love is beyond the love of women;' and, in confidence that you will believe this, or at least accept as much as you do believe, I present a request unto your Lordship that you will make a visit to your sister, my dear wife, if she be at Penshurst. That poore place hath not offended, that it should be forbidden the honor to receive you. She hath not offended, that she should be deprived of the consolation and delight that your Lordship's company ever brings her. Let me, that am the criminal, be punished with the trouble of minde for not enjoying the pleasure of your conversation, nor the glory of seeing you againe under my roofe. That which I desyre is only in consideration of your sister, whose disposition I know apt enough to be melancholick, especially in that solitary place, where, though it be the best I have, I must confess it was her ill fortune that placed her there; in recompence whereof my greatest study is to procure comforts for her, which she shall never want if my life can serve her with any," &c.

Northumberland, however, remained long unappeased. Even four years after, on the tenth of November, 1636, the Countess

closes a letter from Penshurst to her lord, at Paris, on a variety of his private affairs, of which she appears to have been a most careful and judicious superintendant, with complaints of her brother's unkindness. "I have not yet seene him," says she, "being full of the King's busines, as he pretends; neither have I perceived any inclination to drawe me from the solitarines I sufer in this place; for, though I expresed a willingnes to goe to him, were I acomodated for a journey, yet have I receaved no maner of invitation, wich I take a little unkindlye; but it shall not much afflicte me, for, I thanke God, and you, my dearest harte, that the obligations wich I have receaved from frends has beene very small; and I hope my necesities of their favors will not be increased. But of this coldnes in my brother I will take no notice, or verie litle; and content myself the best I can with this lonelie life, without envieng their greatnes, their plentie, or their jolitie. The principall trouble I sufer, next to the want of your companie, is the apprehentions I have of your being crost in what you desire to accomplishe; but my best and most earnest praiers shall be ofne presented for you; and, with your owne, which I beleeve are better then mine, I hope those blessings shall be obtained wich will make us hapie."

In 1639, and in 1641, she visited her husband in Paris, and in the latter of those years the Queen of France presented her with a diamond valued at six hundred pounds. The war between the King and the Parliament now commenced, and Leicester, whose loyalty was well known, became an object first of suspicion, and then of vengeance, to the party which unhappily gained the ascendancy. His estates were sequestrated; in 1643 the Countess sued for the restoration of them by a bold and dignified memorial, and the sequestration was presently after removed. It can scarcely be supposed that this concession was procured merely by her persuasion. Her brother, Northumberland, whose attachment to the royal cause was, at best, but lukewarm, and who was now in some measure reconciled to Leicester and his family;

and her eldest son, the Viscount Lisle, a young man already distinguished by republican prejudices, stood foremost among those Nobles whose affections the House of Commons was then most anxious to secure, and there can be little doubt that it was through their influence that Leicester was replaced in the possession of his patrimony, and permitted to live in tranquillity at home during the whole of the rebellion and usurpation.

These favours were some years after succeeded by a mark of confidence from the Parliament, which may be certainly traced to the same source. In June, 1649, the two youngest children of the unfortunate Charles were placed under her care, and are said to have been treated by her, till August, in the following year, when they were removed to other custody in the Isle of Wight, with great tenderness and respect. A single word, indeed, in Lord Clarendon's account of the circumstances at that time of those royal sufferers, tends to convey a different impression. "The Princess Elizabeth, and the Duke of Gloucester," says he, "were committed to the Countess of Leicester, to whom such an allowance was paid out of the treasury as might well defray their expenses with that respect that was due to their birth, which was performed towards them as long as the King their father lived; but, as soon as the King was murdered, it was ordered that the children should be removed into the country, that they might not be the objects of respect, to draw the eyes and application of the people towards them: the allowance was retrenched, that their attendants and servants might be lessened, and order was given that 'they should be treated without any addition of titles, and that they should sit at their meat as the children of the family did, and all at one table;' whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a house of the Earl of Leicester's, in Kent, where they lived under the tuition of the Countess, who observed the order of the Parliament with obedience enough; yet they were carefully looked to, and treated with as much respect as the Lady pretended she durst pay to them." Lord Clarendon, however, as

may be inferred from more than one passage in his history, entertained unfavourable prejudices against Leicester and his family; but the Princess, who died soon after her removal from Penshurst, recorded her gratitude and kindness to the Countess by bequeathing to her a jewel of considerable value. It is worthy of observation, that the Parliament, in its eagerness for popularity, condescended to question the validity of this legacy. The Countess had obtained letters of administration, and had gained possession of the jewel, when the Attorney General was ordered to institute a suit against the Earl, her husband, to claim it as the property of the State. The question remained in litigation till the beginning of the year 1659, when, as might be expected, it was decided in favour of the Parliament: the jewel was wrested from the Countess, and deposited in the Exchequer.

She died on the ninth of August, in the same year. A letter on that occasion, written by her Lord to the Earl of Northumberland, and savouring perhaps more of the finesse of a courtier than the grief of a widower, has been preserved, and claims a place in this memoir.

"My Lord,

"In the greatest sorrow that I have ever sufferd your Lordship hath given me the greatest consolation that I could receive from any body in this world; for having lost that which I loved best your Lordship secureth me from that which I loved next, that is your favour, to which having no right nor claime by any worthynes in myself, but only by that alliance of which my most deare wife was the mediation, I might justly feare the loss of that also if your Lordship's charity towards me did not prevent it. And now I will presume to tell your Lordship, that though you have lost an excellent sister, who by her affection and reverence towards you highly deserved of you, yet such was her death that your Lordship hath reason to rejoyce at her departure: and, if I were Christian good enough to concive the happynes of the

other life, and that I could have loved her enough, it might have bin to me a pleasure to see her dye as she dyed; but, being unable to repare my own loss with the consideration of her advantage, I must ever greeve for the one untill I may be partaker of the other; and, as I shall ever whilst I live pay to her memory all affection and respects, so, for her sake that loved you so dearly, and was so beloved of your Lordship, and for the high estimation which I have allways had of your Lordship, I beseech you to let me remaine in your favour, and to be assured of my being

Your Lordship's faithfullest humble servant,

Leycester."

Penshurst, 31 Aug. 1659.

The issue of her marrriage was four sons, and eight daughters. Philip, her first born child, succeeded to his father's titles and estates; Robert, the second son, died unmarried; Algernon, the third, suffered death for high treason in 1683; and the fourth, Henry, was created Earl of Romney. Her daughters were Elizabeth, who died young, and unmarried; Lucy, wife of Sir John Pelham, of Loughton, in Sussex, Bart.; Anne, wife of Joseph Cart, a clergyman; Mary, and Diana, who died in childhood; Elizabeth, married to Thomas Smith, Viscount Strangford, in Ireland; Frances, and Isabel, unmarried.

Engraved by S. Freeman.

ANNE HYDE, DUCHESS OF YORK.

OB. 1671.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR P. LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE R^{T}. HON^{BLE}. THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

London, Published June 1, 1824; by Harding, Mavor, & Lepard.

ANNE HYDE,

DUCHESS OF YORK.

This lady, whom an accident of passion placed so near the throne, and who gave birth to two sovereigns, whose reigns form perhaps the most brilliant, at least the most remarkable epoch in our history, was the eldest of the two daughters of that wise and virtuous Chancellor, Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, by Frances, daughter, and at length heir of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Knight and Baronet, a Master of the Requests in the reign of Charles the First. The circumstances relating to her marriage with the Duke of York, afterwards our James the Second, form nearly the whole of her story; for though she possessed a proud spirit and a powerful understanding, she seems neither to have aspired to any open influence on state affairs, nor to have mixed in the political intrigues which so eminently distinguished her time. So too in her private life we meet but with passing rumours of the usual errors of a woman of much beauty, and strong passions, raised suddenly to unexpected elevation — of those domestic extravagances, which, by destroying the peace and distracting the interests, of illustrious families, render their memoirs delightful to posterity.

James himself speaks thus of her, and of their marriage, in the very curious memoirs of his own life, preserved in the Scotch College at Paris, numerous extracts from which may be found in Macpherson's fine Collection of Original Papers. Those memoirs, in which he always mentions himself in the third person, place the character of that unfortunate and imprudent Prince in a more advantageous light than popular prejudice had before allowed to fall on it, and there can be little doubt of their truth and since-

rity. “When his sister, the Princess Royal,” says he, “came to Paris, to see the Queen Mother, the Duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour. Beside her person, she had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart less apt to take fire than his; which she managed so well, as to bring his passion to such a height, as between the time he first saw her, and the winter before the King's restoration, he resolved to marry none but her, and promised her to do it; and though at first, when the Duke asked the King, his brother, for his leave, he refused, and dissuaded him from it, yet at last he opposed it no more, and the Duke married her privately; owned it some time after; and was ever after a true friend to the Chancellor.” He says, in another place, that “her want of birth was made up by endowments, and her carriage afterwards became her dignity.”

Lord Clarendon, in his own life, naturally enough enlarges widely on a subject so important and so dear to him. He tells us that James disclosed the fact of his private marriage to the King, immediately after the restoration; informed him that the Duchess was with child; and besought his brother to suffer him to marry her publicly. Charles, whose indolent good temper nothing could ruffle, listened patiently, and even kindly, to the news, and sent the Marquis of Ormond, and the Earl of Southampton, two of the Chancellor's dearest friends, to break the matter to him; for he declares, and his veracity has never been doubted, that he had not the smallest suspicion of it. The temper in which he received it will best appear from his own words—“He broke out into immoderate passion against his daughter; and said, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house, as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again.” And, on their assuring him that she was married to the Duke, he fell into yet greater passion, and exclaimed that “he had rather his daughter should be the Duke's whore than his wife: that, in the former case, no one could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was

not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive, and the indignity to himself he would submit to the good pleasure of God; but, if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgement, in which he hoped the King would concur with him—that the King should immediately cause the woman to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard that no person living should be admitted to come to her; and then that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head; to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it: and whoever knew the man, concludes the Chancellor, still speaking of himself, will believe that he said all this very heartily." Bishop Burnet, who detested James, and whose word should always be taken with caution where his passions were concerned, says, rather obscurely, that "she, being with child, called on the Duke to own the marriage, and managed the matter with so much address, that in conclusion he married her, and that he thought to have shaken her from claiming it by great promises, and as great threatenings, but she was a woman of great spirit, and would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased."

Charles, who certainly had a great affection for his brother, and perhaps little less for the Chancellor, so far from testifying any displeasure, amiably placed himself as a mediator among the parties; but new difficulties presently arose, which even his power could not compose. The Queen Mother, enraged to the utmost, wrote to him from Paris, to inform him that she should instantly set out for England, to do all she could to prevent such a dishonour to the crown. She came, and James, whose conduct in this trying situation seems, in spite of the report of Burnet, to have hitherto been equally firm and honourable, was weak enough to deny his marriage to his mother. In the mean time a party in the duke's family, headed by Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, a man whose heroic exit afterwards somewhat atoned for a vile life,

availed themselves of these dissensions, in the hope of working the downfall of the Chancellor. Their envy and malice had been raised to the highest pitch, by new favours lately conferred on him by the King; for Charles, eager to testify his determination to protect his old and faithful servant, had created him a Baron, and added to that dignity a grant of twenty thousand pounds, in the midst of the confusion occasioned at court by the disclosure of the marriage. They contrived to convey indirectly to James the most injurious reports of the Duchess's conduct previously to her union with him; and he, having easily discovered the authors, resolved to examine them personally. The detail of his intercourse with them, and its consequences, is to be met with only in the Mémoires de Grammont, and is given with an ease and vivacity which will render any apology unnecessary, either for quoting the very words of the original, or for the length of the extract.

"Au milieu de ces différentes agitations il s'ouvrit à Milord Falmouth, et le consulta sur le parti qu'il devoit prendre. Il ne pouvoit mieux s'addresser pour ses intérêts, ni plus mal pour Mademoiselle Hyde. Falmouth lui soûtint d'abord, non seulement qu'il n'étoit pas marié, mais qu'il étoit impossible qu'il y eut jamais songé: qu'un mariage étoit nul pour lui sans le consentement du Roi, quand même le parti se fût trouvé d'ailleurs sortable; mais que c'étoit une mocquerie de mettre en jeu la fille d'un petit avocat, que la faveur du Roi venoit de faire Pair du royaume sans noblesse, et Chancelier sans capacité: qu'à l'égard de ses scrupules il n'avoit qu'à vouloir bien écouter des gens qui l'instruiroient à fond de la conduite que Mademoiselle Hyde avoit tenue avant qu'il la connût, et que pourvû qu'il ne leur dit point que la chose fût déjà faite, il auroit bien tôt de quoi le determiner. Le Duc d'York y consentit, et Milord Falmouth, ayant assemblé son conseil et ses temoins, les mena dans le cabinet de son Altesse, après les avoir instruits de ce qu'on leur vouloit. Ces messieurs étoient le Comte d'Arran, Germain, Talbot, et Killigrew, tous gens d'honneur, mais qui préféroient infiniment celui du Duc d'York à

celui de Mademoiselle Hyde, et qui de plus étoient révoltés, avec toute la cour, contre l'insolente autorité du premier ministre.

"Le Duc leur ayant dit, après une espèce de préambule, que quoiqu'ils n'ignorassent pas sa tendresse pour Mademoiselle Hyde ils pouvoient ignorer à quels engagemens cette tendresse l'avoit porté: qu'il se croyoit obligé de tenir toutes les paroles qu'il avoit pû lui donner; mais que comme l'innocence des personnes de son âge était exposée d'ordinaire aux médisances d'une cour, et que de certains bruits, faux ou veritables, s'étoient répandus au sujet de sa conduite, il les prioit comme amis, et leur ordonnoit par tout ce qu'ils lui devoient, de lui dire sincèrement ce qu'ils en savoient, d'autant qu'il étoit résolu de régler sur leurs témoignages les desseins qu'il avoit pour elle. On se fit un peu tirer l'oreille d'abord, et l'on fit semblant de n'ôser prononcer sur une matière si sérieuse et si délicate; mais le Duc d'York ayant réitéré ses instances chacun se mit à deduire par le menu ce qu'il savoit, et peut-être ce qu'il ne savoit pas, de la pauvre Hyde. On y joignit toutes les circonstances qu'il falloit pour appuyer les temoignages. Par exemple, le Comte d'Arran, qui parla le premier, déposa que dans la galerie de Honslaerdyk, où la Comtesse d'Ossory, sa belle sœur, et Germain, jouoient un jour aux quilles, Mademoiselle Hyde avoit fait semblant de se trouver mal, et s'étoit retirée dans une chambre au bout de la galerie; que lui, déposant, l'avait suivie, et que lui ayant coupé son lacet, pour donner plus de vraisemblance aux vapeurs, il avoit fait de son mieux pour la secourir, ou pour la desennuyer. Talbot dit qu'elle lui avoit donné un rendez-vous dans le cabinet du Chancelier, tandis qu'il était au Conseil, à telles enseignes que n'ayant pas tant d'attention aux choses qui étoient sur la table, qu'à celle qui les occupoient alors, ils avoient fait répandre toute l'encre d'une bouteille sur une dépêche de quatre pages; et que le singe du Roi, qu'on accusoit de ce désordre, en avoit été long-tems en disgrace."

"Germain indiqua plusieurs endroits où il avoit eu des audiences longues et favorables; cependant tous ces chefs d'accu-

sation ne vouloient que sur quelques tendres privautés, ou tout au plus, sur ce qu'on appelle les menus plaisirs d'un commerce; mais Killigrew, voulant rencherir sur ces foibles dépositions, dit tout net qu'il avait eu l'honneur de ses bonnes graces. Il avait l'esprit vif et badin, et savait donner un tour agréable à ses récits par des figures gracieuses et sensibles. Il assura qu'il avait trouvé l'heure du berger dans un certain cabinet construit au-dessus de l'eau à toute autre fin que d'être favorable aux empressemens amoureux; qu'il avait eu pour témoins de son bonheur trois ou quatre cygnes, qui pouvoient bien avoir été témoins du bonheur de bien d'autres dans ce même cabinet, vû qu'elle y alloit souvent et qu'elle s'y plaisoit fort.

"Le Duc d'York trouva cette dernière accusation outrée, persuadé qu'il avoit par devers lui des preuves suffisantes du contraire. Il remercia messieurs les témoins à bonne fortune de leur franchise; leur imposa silence à l'avenir sur ce qu'ils venoient de lui déclarer; et passa dans l'appartement du Roi. Dès qu'il fut dans son cabinet Milord Falmouth, qui l'avoit suivi, conta ce qui venoit de se passer au Comte d'Ossory, qu'il trouva chez le Roy. Ils se doutèrent bien de ce qui faisoit la conversation des deux frères, car elle fut longue. Le Duc d'York en sortant parut tellement émû qu'ils ne doutèrent point que tout n'allat mal pour la pauvre Hyde. Milord Falmouth commençoit à s'attendrir de sa grace, et se repentoit un peu de la part qu'il y avoit eue, lorsque le Duc d'York lui dit de se trouver, avec le Comte d'Ossory, che le Chancelier dans une heure."

"Ils furent un peu surprise qu'il eût la dureté d'annoncer lui-même cette accablante nouvelle. Ils trouvèrent à l'heure marquée son Altesse dans la chambre de Mademoiselle Hyde. Ses yeux paroissoient mouillés de quelques larmes qu'elles s'efforçoit de retenir. Le Chancelier, appuyé contre la muraille, leur parut bouffi de quelque chose. Ils ne doutèrent point que ce fut de rage et de desespoir. Le Duc d'York leur dit, de cet air content et serein dont on annonce les bonnes nouvelles—"Comme vous

êtes les deux hommes de la cour que j'estime du plus, je veux que vous ayez les premiers l'honneur de saluer la Duchesse d'York—la voilà."

"La surprise ne servoit de rien, et l'étonnement n'étoit pas de saison dans cette conjoncture. Ils en étoient pourtant si remplis que pour s'en cacher ils se jetèrent promptement à genoux, pour baiser la main, qu'elle leur tendit avec autant de grandeur et de majesté que si de sa vie elle n'eût fait autre chose."

Lord Clarendon informs us that Falmouth afterwards confessed fully to James the falsehood of all the charges which had been thus made by himself and his conspirators, and received the Duke's pardon. From that ill-judged lenity perhaps, as well as from the slander itself, other gallantries were subsequently ascribed to the Duchess. Grammont, an elegant profligate, living in the most profligate court in Europe, speaks largely of a supposed intrigue with Sidney, a younger son of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and a gentleman of the Duke's bedchamber, and tells us that she went to York in 1664, that she might receive his addresses with the more convenience and privacy; and Burnet adds, that the Duke discovered the amour, and dismissed Sidney with such precipitation and anger that the whole became entirely public; but a passage in Sir John Reresby's Memoirs tends greatly to invalidate these reports, and indeed expressly contradicts one of them. "His Royal Highness the Duke, and his Duchess," says Reresby, whose candour is invariable, "came down to York in August, where it was observed that Mr. Sidney, the handsomest youth of his time, and of the Duke's bedchamber, was greatly in love with the Duchess; and indeed he might be well excused, for the Duchess, daughter to Chancellor Hyde, was a very handsome personage, and a woman of fine wit. The Duchess, on her part, seemed kind to him, but very innocently; but he had the misfortune to be banished the court afterwards, for another reason, as was reported." Burnet, however, who seems to have delighted in drawing false conclusions from false premises, makes

use of this rumour to introduce a long paragraph of disgusting scandal against James, whose debaucheries, he tells us, shortened the lives of the Duchess, and of most of her children, and poisoned the constitutions of the two who survived infancy: and, not contented with this, affects to trace the venom to its very source, by minutely relating the circumstances of a filthy tale, which may be found in his memoirs of the year 1665. He tells us also, with equal improbability, that the Duchess, through the discovery of her amour with Sidney, lost the influence which she had over her husband, and that, in the hope of regaining it by flattering his religious prejudices, she determined to embrace the Roman Catholic profession; and this brings us to one of the most important points of her story.

She had been bred a Protestant, with much strictness and had always the reputation of a perfect sincerity in that persuasion; but it was observed for many months before her death that she had not, as usual, received the Sacrament, and that she frequently apologized in conversation for many of those doctrines of the Romish Church which are the most strenuously opposed by the Church of England. At length, on the twentieth of August, 1670, she signed, and as it should seem, in a great measure published, a paper declaring her reconciliation to the ancient religion, in terms so frank and simple, and with so little force or subtlety of argument, as to render it evident that they had been dictated by her own private prejudices, and secretly composed by her own pen. She begins, to use nearly her own words, by calling God to witness that no person, man or woman, directly nor indirectly had ever said any thing to her since she came into England, or used the least endeavour to make her change her religion; but that it was a blessing she owed wholly to Almighty God, and to her earnest and constant prayers that she might before she died be in the true religion. That she had entertained no scruples till the preceding November, when, chancing to peruse Dr. Heylin's History of the Reformation, which had been much recommended

to her, she found it to contain what seemed to her to be the most horrible sacrileges imaginable, and could find no reason why we left that Church, but three most abominable ones. First, that Henry the Eighth renounced the Pope's authority because he would not give him leave to part with his wife, and marry another in her lifetime; secondly, because Edward the Sixth was a child, and governed by his uncle, who made his estate out of church lands; and, thirdly, because Elizabeth, who was no lawful heiress to the Crown, could have no way to keep it but by renouncing a church that would never suffer so unlawful a thing to be done by one of her children. "I confess," says she, "I cannot think the HolyGhost to be in such councils." After some wretched reasoning on transubstantiation, the infallibility of the church, confession, and praying for the dead, she concludes thus: "I am not able, nor if I were, would I enter into disputes with any body. I only, in short, say this for the changing of my religion, which I take God to witness I never would have done if I had thought it possible to save my soul otherwise. I think I need not say it is any interest in this world that leads me to it. It will be plain enough to every body that I must lose all the friends and credit I have here by it; and I have very well weighed which I could best part with, my share in this world, or the next. I thank God I have found no difficulty in the choice."

It has been the fashion of the writers of that time to assert that this lady's abandonment of the Protestant religion was the work of incessant persuasions and threats. It would be absurd to suppose that the approbation, nay the endeavours, of a husband so bigotted as James had been wholly wanting; but there can be little doubt that the change arose chiefly from her own conscientious inclination. Her father, who had been for some time disgraced, and was then living in exile, regretted this dereliction perhaps more keenly than any of his own misfortunes, and wrote on it to her, and to the Duke, the most earnest expostulations, which however did not arrive till after her death.

The Duchess's constitution had been long declining. She is said to have been very indolent, and a great eater, but there is reason to believe that her end was hastened by domestic anxiety. James was a notoriously unfaithful, and probably negligent, husband; and the reputation of patience with which she seemed to endure those afflictions was in fact due to the stifled anger of a proud spirit, any active exertion of which might have been worse than useless. Bishop Kennet tells us, that "after a growing corpulency, she fell into a long indisposition, and died." Burnet says, that "a long decay of health came at last to a quicker crisis than had been apprehended, and that she fell on a sudden into the pains of death." He adds, that Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, was sent for, to perform the usual offices of the church on such occasions, but that "the Queen being present, he went no further than to say that he hoped she continued in the truth; upon which she asked 'What is truth?' and, her agony increasing, she repeated the word truth, truth, many times, and in a few minutes after died, very little beloved or lamented, for her haughtiness had raised her many enemies." In another part of his uncharitable memoirs he gives her a high character, still however with that qualification which it really seems to have required. "The Duchess of York," says he, "was a very extraordinary woman. She had great knowledge, and a lively sense of things. She soon understood what belonged to a Princess, and took state on her rather too much. She writ well, and had begun the Duke's life, of which she shewed me a volume, which was all taken from his own journal. She was generous and friendly, but too severe an enemy."

She died at St. James's Palace, between three and four in the afternoon, on the thirty-first of March, 1671, in the thirty-fourth year of her age, and was buried, as had been all those of her children who died before her, in the vault of Mary Queen of Scots, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Of her numerous progeny by the unhappy James none reached maturity except the Queens,

Mary the second, and Anne, her successor. The rest were, Charles, who was born on the twenty-second of October, 1660, and died at Whitehall, on the fifth of May in the following year, while a patent was preparing, to create him Duke and Earl of Cambridge; James, born on the twelfth of July, 1663, who was created Baron of Dauntsey, in Wilts, and Duke and Earl of Cambridge, and invested with the order of the Garter, but died on the twentieth of June, 1666; Charles, born on the fourth of July, in that year, and created Duke of Kendal, who died on the twenty-second of the following May; Edgar, born September the fourteenth, 1667, and also created Duke of Cambridge, but died on the eighth of June, 1671; Henrietta, born on the thirteenth of January, 1668, and died November the fifteenth, 1669; and Catherine, born February the ninth, 1670, who died on the fifth of December, 1671. Burnet, in whom it might have been becoming enough to ascribe the hard and untimely fate of James's line to an interposition of Providence for the protection of the Church of England, has, in his inveterate malice to that Prince, thought fit to place it to another account, to which I have before alluded.

Engraved by R. Cooper.

JOHN LESLIE, DUKE OF ROTHES.

OB. 1681.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^{BLE} THE EARL OF ROTHES.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square London, Sept. 1, 1824.

JOHN LESLIE,

DUKE OF ROTHES.

THE Duke of Rothes, for that title was never held by any other person, was the only son of John Leslie, fifth Earl of Rothes, by Anne, second daughter of John Erskine, eighth Earl of Mar. He was born in the year 1630, and succeeded to the titles and estates of his ancestors when in the eleventh year of his age. The loss of his parents, for his mother also had died in the preceding year, thus in his childhood, was a misfortune the effects of which attended him through life, for, having been early betrothed to the eldest daughter of the Earl of Crawford, he went soon after his father's death to live in that nobleman's family, where his education was almost wholly neglected. In 1650, he emerged at length from a privacy which, however ill-suited to his active spirit, a mild and placid temper had enabled him to bear with patience. He now took up his residence, with becoming splendor, at Leslie, the mansion of his forefathers, and on the arrival of Charles the Second in Scotland from his exile in Holland, was among the first to wait on that Prince, to whose grace the fidelity and important services of his father to the late King had given him peculiar pretensions. These merits were afterwards amply acknowledged, and Charles, who had at this period only compliments to bestow, gave him the Sword of State to carry at the Coronation, which took place in that country on the first of the following January.

In the succeeding month, the Scottish Parliament having resolved to raise an army for the restoration of the monarchy, this young nobleman equipped from his dependents in the county of Fife a regiment of horse, at the head of which he accompanied

Charles to Worcester, where, in the unfortunate battle of the third of September, 1651, he fell into the hands of the rebels, and was sent a prisoner, with some others of the nobility of his country, to the Tower of London. There, at Newcastle on Tyne, and in some other places, he remained in strict custody till the summer of 1655, when Elizabeth Murray, Countess of Dysart, a woman not less remarkable for her intriguing spirit than for her beauty, and one of the few towards whom Cromwell is said to have betrayed an amorous inclination, procured his release, through her influence over the usurper, and he was permitted to return to Scotland. He remained there, unmolested, and perhaps inactive, till the beginning of January, 1658, when, probably on some political suspicions, but professedly to prevent the consequences of a private quarrel, he was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, and in the following spring his estates were sequestrated. These hardships, operating on a disposition in which loyalty might be said to have been almost natural, rivetted his attachment to the royal cause. He was liberated in December, 1658, and suffered to return to his own house, where he remained till the design for the restoration became publicly rumoured, when he fled to the King at Breda, and remained with him till that great event occurred.

Charles, thus at leisure to observe his character, found in him much to esteem as a friend, and yet more to recommend him as a servant, especially to such a Prince. In addition to his affection to the Crown, and to the family which held it, his resolution in executing his master's commands was as remarkable as his invariable obedience to them ; it is perhaps needless therefore to say that he had little bias towards any particular system of government, and still less regard to any party or faction in the state. Charles, even before the restoration, seems to have determined to intrust to him the chief management of the affairs of Scotland. On the first of June, 1661, he was appointed President of the Council in that country, and one of the four Lords

extraordinary of the Session, and was constituted the King's High Commissioner to the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on the eighteenth of June in the following year. The staff of High Treasurer, which had been held by Crawford, his father-in-law, was presently after delivered to him, with the singular accompaniment of commissions of general of the forces, and captain of the troop of horse guards; and in the summer of 1663 he was nominated to the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal. A charter was issued to him about the same time, re-granting his Earldom, and other titles of peerage, with such numerous and wide remainders as rendered it nearly impossible that they should ever quit his blood; and in the succeeding year, on the death of the Earl of Glenclairn, the Great Seal was placed in his hands, with the style of Lord Keeper.

Certain it is that he earned these excessive favours, if not by a sacrifice of all public principle, at least by a most reprehensible ductility. He was largely concerned in procuring that extravagant bill of the year 1661, called by the Scots "the Act recissory," by which all the Parliaments that had been held in Scotland since 1633 were declared illegal, and all their proceedings annulled. This frightful measure, which, however pregnant of general confusion and mischief, aimed only at the overthrow of the kirk, was concerted with the furious Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, to whom, with respect to ecclesiastical affairs, Rothes seems in a great measure to have devoted himself; yet, while he secretly forwarded it, he scrupled not to promise his favour to the covenanters, reserving himself to take such part as he might find most agreeable to the King, to discover whose precise inclination he made purposely a journey to London. The English prelates, to whom Sharp had recommended him as the instrument by whom episcopacy was to be restored in Scotland, received him with rapture, nor was Charles less lavish of his approbation. He returned to Scotland with increased favour and power, and the Earls of Middleton and Lauderdale, his colleagues in the Scottish

administration, who in the beginning had given him abundant proofs of their jealousy, now, from a despair of ability to undermine him, or from an unwillingness to share in the unpopularity which threatened him, in a great measure left him to follow his own course, and confined themselves to the business of their respective offices. Meanwhile he offended his sober countrymen little less by the looseness of his private conduct than by his rigorous opposition to the novelties of their religious discipline. He abandoned himself to all sorts of pleasures, and the enemies to the court ironically apologised for his licentiousness by remarking that the King's Commissioner ought to represent his master's person.

Rothes from a ministerial opponent presently degenerated into a persecutor. The military were scattered in those parts of the country in which the covenanters abounded: the parish priests were directed to transmit lists of such of them as avoided the established worship to the general, Sir James Turner; and they were forced into the churches at the point of the bayonet. Turner, though a most obedient soldier, and naturally rough and furious, was frequently reprehended by him for acting too mildly with them. The covenanters resented these outrages by an insurrection so ill concerted, and so weakly supported by any persons of power, that they were discomfited on their first appearance in arms. Rothes, who was then at the Court, and who had persuaded the King, perhaps believing it himself, that all but a few obstinate fanatics had submitted, on receiving the news, posted into Scotland, with intentions sufficiently vindictive, which however were fomented to the utmost on his arrival by the influence of the Primate. About fifty of the insurgents, who were mostly of the lowest class, were put to death; many fled to Ireland; the more moderate covenanters sullenly obeyed, and abandoned their conventicles; and a miserable calm, simply the effect of terror, succeeded. It was evident however that a state of order so procured could not be long maintained, and the remedy was

obvious. Two of the independent nobility, members of the established church, went to London, and represented to the King with firmness the state of the country, and the causes of the evils under which it suffered, and besought him to dismiss the ministers to whom they ascribed them.

Charles was moved by their arguments, and dispatched an order to Scotland that the Primate should be restrained from going to Edinburgh, and confined to his diocese, but he hesitated as to Rothes, for whom he entertained a real friendship. Such indeed was that nobleman's influence over his mind, or such his own secret affection to the measures that he was requested to relinquish, that, even while he seemed to give way to the counsels of those lords, a letter from the Earl prevailed on him to impower the Scottish Privy Council to require all whom they suspected to be enemies to the church to renounce the covenant, and to proceed against such as refused it as traitors, directing however by a private order that such power should not be exercised to the utmost but by his special command, further than for the purpose of exciting terror in the contumacious. By a second, and bolder, suggestion to the King, at the same critical period, he seemed to render the overthrow of his own authority inevitable, inasmuch as it drew down on him the resentment of the whole body of the nobility. He charged a majority of the Privy Council with disaffection to the church, and proposed that a special council should be nominated, to sit at Glasgow on ecclesiastical affairs, and so far was he from concealing this imprudent advice that he avowed it even to the Earl of Lauderdale, who was not only a professed covenanter, but his known enemy. In the mean time the two Scottish peers, who yet remained in London, redoubled their efforts against him, but the King still paused, when an accident is said to have produced the crisis to which those endeavours had been hitherto vainly applied. A division of the Dutch fleet which in 1667 sailed up the Thames, was directed to enter the Frith of Forth; to threaten an attack, by way of

feint, on the Scottish coast; and then secretly to join de Ruyter, in that well-known enterprize. A great consternation was excited in that part of the country, but the matter ended in the discharge of a few innocent shot against the works at Bruntisland. Rothes happened to be then on a progress in the north, and not only the danger which it was pretended had menaced Scotland was charged by his enemies on his absence, which was represented as gross negligence, but even the subsequent insult which tarnished for a time the naval glory of England was in some measure ascribed to the same cause.

Charles at length consented to deprive him of the immoderate power with which he had been invested, and which he had exercised with so much indiscretion, and indeed tyranny; this however was accomplished gradually, and with all possible mildness, for the King had determined to dismiss him with no signs of disgrace. The army, contrary to his advice, was first disbanded, by which his commission of General was reduced to a mere title. Rothes now flew to the Court; besought the aid of the Duke of Monmouth, who had married his niece, and condescended to apply himself even to Lauderdale; but it was too late. He was presently deprived of the Treasury, but with a special approbation, under the Great Seal, of his conduct in that post. The rest of his offices followed, except only that of the Privy Seal, which he held for many years after, and now came the counterpoise, in Rothes's mind very unequal, to these severe mortifications: in the month of October, 1667, shortly before which time these alterations had occurred, he was placed for life in the dignified rather than powerful station of High Chancellor of Scotland.

From that period he had scarcely any ostensible concern in the government of the country. Charles's attachment to him however remained unaltered, and there is little reason to doubt that he was secretly consulted to the last on the affairs of Scotland. The strongest proof of his master's esteem was yet to come. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1680, he was created Duke of Rothes, and

Marquis of Ballinbreich, to which were added several other titles of peerage, with remainder to his heirs male, of which, though at that time he only had daughters, he was not of an age to despair; but he survived the acquisition of these new dignities little more than one year. He died at Holyrood House, on the twenty-seventh of July, 1681, and was buried at Leslie, with an extravagance of pomp, scarcely ever equalled in the funeral of a subject; so remarkable indeed as to have been commemorated by an engraving, specially for that purpose. Little can be said of this nobleman's character, which seems indeed to have presented no one prominent feature. The blame of his administration was rather due to him who placed it in such hands than to himself. Totally inexperienced in political affairs, and not less careless of religion itself than ignorant of ecclesiastical government, he was sent to preside in a state then chiefly occupied in the difficult task of re-establishing an overthrown Church. The errors of his public and private conduct were the usual errors of an uncultivated mind, and he was indebted for whatsoever degree of credit he at any time gained to lively talents, and an agreeable temper. Burnet, who knew him well, and was not his friend, speaks perhaps more favourably of him, and tells us that "he had a ready dexterity in the management of affairs, with a soft and insinuating address. He had a quick apprehension, with a clear judgement. He had no advantage of education; no sort of literature: all in him was mere nature." The Bishop informs us in another place that he was very facetious in conversation, of which he gives an instance too gross to be repeated.

The Duke of Rothes married Anne, daughter of John Lindsay, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, by whom he had two daughters; Margaret, and Christian; the Dukedom of course died with him. The elder of these ladies, who became the wife of Charles Hamilton, fifth Earl of Haddington, succeeded to the titles of Countess of Rothes, &c. and from her the present Earl is descended; the second married, first, James, third Marquis of Montrose; secondly, Sir John Bruce, of Kinross, Baronet.

MAHARAJA SERFOJI'S SA...

Engraved by J. Jenkins.

WILLIAM LORD RUSSELL.

OB. 1683.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF SIR PETER LELY.

London, Published May 1, 1824, by Harding, Mavor, and Lepard.

WILLIAM, LORD RUSSELL.

THE ingenious biographer, Granger, has arranged his multitudinous subjects under various descriptive denominations, and we find among them a class of—"Persons remarkable from a single circumstance in their lives." In this class Lord Russell, had he not belonged to that of the nobility, would have been properly placed. The story of his life is nearly destitute of those circumstances which usually excite a lasting general interest, for what fame is so transient as that of a political partisan? but the termination of it furnishes one of the most remarkable authentic instances extant of that pure and perfect heroism which in the legends of antiquity generally excites our doubts, as well as our admiration. For the rest, Lord Russell was one of many engaged in a conspiracy of which he was not even the leader: a nobleman of honest nature, who had been unhappily led to lend his great name to a faction headed by the worst man in the kingdom: a victim to that too exquisite and mistaken sense of honour and fidelity which alone can attach the virtuous to the worthless. All this unfortunately is too common to claim justly any unusual degree of attention; but Lord Russell prepared for death, and suffered it, with the firmness of a stoic, and the resignation of a saint. Had he escaped it, his name would have been barely noticed on the page of history.

He was the second son, but, by the death of his elder brother, heir apparent, to William, fifth Earl of Bedford, by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset. From his father, who had been deeply engaged on the popular side at the commencement of the grand rebellion, and who, like too many other great men of his time, had fought against the Crown till his

opposition ceased to be mischievous, and had returned to his allegiance when it was no longer in his power to render service, he seems to have imbibed those political prejudices which formed the conduct, and furnished most of the business of his life. Burnet, indeed, expressly tells us that "he was inclined from his first education to favour the nonconformists;" and of other education, in the ordinary sense of the word, we hear nothing, but doubtless he received such as was suited to his high rank. Neither are we further informed as to his early habits and pursuits than that he indulged with freedom, for a while after the restoration, in the gaieties of Charles the second's luxurious court. He became a member of the House of Commons in the Parliament summoned immediately after the restoration, but at what time during the sixteen years for which it sat is uncertain; nor does it appear that he took any very active concern in its measures. In the following, which was called in 1678, he was returned, as he was afterwards during his life, for the county of Bedford, and seems, at the opening of that Parliament, to have placed himself among the friends of the government, or, at all events, to have exercised a calm impartiality, since, after the King's positive and repeated refusal to confirm the first choice of a Speaker, which had fallen on Mr. Edward Seymour, the gentleman who was appointed to that office by a second election was proposed to the House by Lord Russell.

It was immediately after that period when Charles, weary of contests that, at the best, could not but be unprofitable, determined on a mixture of parties; dissolved his Privy Council; and instituted another; professing, by a formal declaration, his resolution to be guided solely by its advice in all public affairs whatsoever. To this Council he called most of the popular leaders, and Lord Russell, who had scarcely yet acquired that character, was summoned in consideration of his birth. By a singular error, Shaftesbury, whom nature had formed to be an enemy to concord, was appointed President. This man, who was

wholly devoid of principle, either religious, social, or political, after having been engaged in the most arbitrary measures of the Court, had of late affected an extraordinary dread of popery, and, of course, an equal zeal for liberty. He carried with him into the Council a secret resolution to distract its deliberations, and the final end that he had in view, if we may attempt to fathom the motives of the most mysterious man living, was to raise himself to the highest eminence, by placing a nominal crown on the head of the Duke of Monmouth. He possessed surprising powers of persuasion, and applied them with peculiar success to the seduction of the young and unwary. Russell, who was all honour and simplicity, fell easily into a snare baited with his favourite political doctrines. He attached himself earnestly to Shaftesbury, and when the furious intemperance of that nobleman obliged the King to remove him from the Presidency, not many months after his appointment, Russell, with some others of his proselytes, asked leave to resign their seats in the Council, to which Charles, with his usual carelessness, answered "with all my heart." This happened on the thirty-first of January, 1679, O.S.

From that hour Lord Russell became one of the most strenuous opponents of the government. Soon after he withdrew from the Council he personally presented the Duke of York in the Court of King's Bench as a Popish recusant. On the twenty-sixth of the following October, upon the opening of a session, he exhorted the House, in a short speech which had little else remarkable in it, "to suppress Popery, and prevent a Popish successor;" and the fierce debate which followed prepared the way for the famous bill of exclusion, which passed the Commons on the eleventh of November, and was carried up to the Lords by Lord Russell on the fifteenth. His parliamentary conduct on the rejection of that bill by the Upper House assumed a character of violence which had till then seemed foreign from his nature. The singular fury which daily marked the proceedings of the House of Commons during the few weeks of its existence from that date seems to

have arisen mostly from his exertions. Among many other bitter votes, it was resolved, chiefly at his suggestion, that until a bill should be passed for excluding the Duke of York from the succession, they could vote no supply, without danger to his Majesty, and extreme hazard to the Protestant Religion; that whosoever should advise a prorogation of the Parliament was a betrayer of the King and the kingdom, and of the Protestant faith; and that no member of the Commons' House should accept of any office, or place of profit, from the Crown, without leave of the House, nor of any promise of such while he should continue a member of it. In the short space of two months this Parliament had made larger specific strides towards absolute dominion than the famous Long Parliament of Charles the first in as many years. The faculties of the government seemed on the eve of being suspended; and, on the eighteenth of January, 1680, O. S. the King dissolved the Parliament; perhaps the most blameless political act of his reign.

The most overheated of the Whigs, as they began now to be called, thus disappointed, for the time, of the means of compulsion by legislative authority, determined to seek them in unlawful force. They had been spurred on to this by the frantic restlessness of Shaftesbury, who, though now almost in the grasp of death, preserved in a great measure his always misapplied activity, and vigour of mind. He had contrived to associate in one grand scheme of confusion, composed of different designs, some of the best and the worst, the noblest and the vilest, of mankind, and Lord Russell unhappily threw himself into this chaos of mischief. In June, 1683, a mean person of the name of Keeling communicated to the Secretary of State a plot for the assassination of the King, and the Duke, on their return from Newmarket to London, and a proclamation was immediately issued for the apprehension of several, of various ranks, that he had named. Two of these, John Rumsey, who had been a Colonel under Cromwell, and West, a lawyer, surrendered voluntarily, and in a large confession

accused the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Russell and Grey, and others, of treasonable practices. Monmouth, whom the King was naturally desirous of saving, was made prisoner, and admitted to bail, Lord Russell being one of his securities; and, on the commencement of the term a few days after, was discharged, and fled from the danger of a further accusation, as Shaftesbury had done even before the first rumour of the discovery. Whether in the hope of obtaining fuller evidence against him, or to give him time to withdraw from the kingdom, is uncertain, but Lord Russell's apprehension was somewhat delayed. At length warrants of high treason were issued against him, and the Earl of Essex, and they were brought before the Privy Council, where, says Burnet, "the King told Russell that nobody suspected him of any design against his person, but that he had good evidence of his being in designs against his government." After a long examination, he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower.

It was probably true that Lord Russell, and most of the other men of rank engaged in the grand conspiracy, were really ignorant of that bloody purpose the detection of which led to the developement of the whole. It seems to have been suddenly devised by some of the subordinates, who, weary of waiting the fruition of a plan widely extended, and involving various minute considerations, and anxious to do something, had hit on the expedient of all others the most likely to suggest itself to fierce and vulgar minds. But, having so far exonerated him, it becomes necessary to state candidly of what he was guilty. The primary object of the scheme in which he had engaged himself was a general insurrection in England and Scotland, and the means of effecting it were concerted and conducted by himself, the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Essex, Algernon Sidney, Hampden, and Lord Howard of Escrick, who at last called themselves, and were called by their followers, the Council of Six. Shaftesbury directed all their operations, but with such consummate artifice,

that they themselves were insensible of his superiority. The awful and almost endless consequences of an effectual rising provoked by their united efforts may be certainly inferred from the various, and indeed opposite, views entertained by the parties themselves, which are thus briefly described by an elegant and accurate historical writer. "Russell, Essex, and Hampden, intended to make no further use of insurrection than to exclude the Duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sidney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and on its ruins to found that republic which in imagination he adored. Monmouth hoped, amidst public distractions, to pave a way for himself to the throne. Howard, with luxuriant eloquence and wit, adopted the views of each particular person, and incited all to vigour and action, feeling for moments what they felt through life." The whole had been methodised with great precision. Each of the leading conspirators was named to manage the insurrection in a particular district: the western counties were committed to the charge of Lord Russell; and the general explosion was at hand when he was made a prisoner.

On Friday, the thirteenth of July, 1683, he was brought to trial. The proof against him was not so strong as had been expected, and the witnesses fell under the obloquy which usually attends participators who place themselves in that character: the truth of their evidence however was unimpeached, and indeed unsuspected by all persons of sound judgment, who well knew that the common fault of fabricated testimony consists in proving too much. The jury was composed of men of strict honour and integrity, and Pemberton, the Chief Justice, conducted the trial with the strictest impartiality. Lord Russell's lady was present in the Court, and he took care that it should be known to the crowd, for he requested that she might be allowed to take notes for him: Strafford had produced his children on a similar occasion: it was an innocent artifice, but perhaps unworthy of the dignified minds of such men. He neither avowed nor denied the facts

with which he was charged, and there was little remarkable in his conduct during the trial, and less in his defence; but his whole deportment was firm and collected, and he listened to the verdict by which he was convicted, and afterwards to the sentence of death, without the slightest apparent emotion. Two days after, he conveyed to the Duke of York a solicitation, in terms of the deepest humility, for a pardon. "If your Royal Highness," said he, "will interpose in it, I will in no sort meddle any more in the least opposition to your Royal Highness, but will be readily determined to live in any part of the world which his Majesty shall prescribe, and will never fail in my daily prayers for his Majesty's preservation and honour, and your Royal Highness's happiness; and will wholly withdraw myself from the affairs of England, unless called by his Majesty's order to serve him, which I shall never be wanting to do to the utmost of my power." He is said to have written this letter at the earnest solicitation of his lady, and, while he was folding it up, he observed to Dr. Burnet, "this will be printed, and will be selling about the streets as my submission when I am led out to be hanged." It is clear indeed that he did it against his inclination, for on the Wednesday following, two days before his death, all hopes of pardon having vanished, he wrote a cold letter to the King, soliciting forgiveness in general terms for unacknowledged faults, but for the evident purpose of introducing a bitter and deliberately framed reproach. His last hours were distinguished by a calmness of piety, and a decency of courage, perhaps unexampled; and in the paper which, instead of the customary speech to the people, he delivered to the Sheriffs on the scaffold, he maintained his political sentiments with a magnanimous moderation; and, while he arraigned, on a point of legal distinction, the judgment under which he was about to suffer, owned, with a noble candour, that he had been guilty of misprision of treason. A variety of minute particulars of his fine conduct and expressions after his condemnation, too numerous to be here inserted, have been preserved by

Burnet, in his History of his own Times, who, together with Dr. Tillotson, attended him constantly in the concluding days of his life, even to his final moment. He was beheaded, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on the twenty-first of July, 1683.

Nearly a century after Lord Russell's death, a most extraordinary fact was brought to light by the late Sir John Dalrymple, a Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, in a publication of certain original papers remaining in the depot of the office for foreign affairs in Paris. It appeared that Lord Russell, in the year 1678, and afterwards, was in the closest correspondence with the Court of France, and had accepted from Louis the fourteenth an authority to use secretly that Prince's influence for the more effectual distraction of the measures of the English government. I will insert here an extract from the most material document on the subject, together with the passage prefixed to it by Dalrymple, without offering a single remark of my own.

" In Lord Danby's letters," says Dalrymple, " which are published, there are several letters in the beginning of the year 1677-8, from Mr. Montagu, Ambassador at Paris, to Lord Danby, informing that Rouvigny" (a near relation to Lady Russell) " was to go over with money, to be distributed among the popular party in the English Parliament, and to act in concert with Lord Russell; and that Barillon" (the French ambassador) " was intriguing with the Duke of Buckingham, and others of that party, in England. The truth of this information is confirmed by the following memorial of Barillon. An English reader will perhaps start at a paper being offered to his eyes which lays open an intrigue between the virtuous Lord Russell and the Court of France; yet it will give him some relief to find, amidst the imprudence of such an intrigue, the man of honour appearing."

" M. de Rouvigny a vû Milord Roussel, et Milord Hollis, qui ont été tous deux fort satisfaits de l'assurance qu'il leur a donnée, que le Roi" (of France) " est bien convaincu qu'il n'est point de son intérêt de rendre le Roi d'Angleterre maître absolu dans son

royaume, et que sa Majesté," (of France) " vouloit travailler à la dissolution de ce Parlement dès que le tems y paroitroit favorable. Milord Roussel lui a dit qu'il engageroit Milord Shafbery dans cette affaire, et que ce seroit le seul homme à qui il en parleroit clairement; et qu'ils travailleroient sous main à empêcher qu'on augmentât la somme qui a été offerte pour faire la guerre; et qu'ils feroient ajouter à l'offre du million de livres des conditions si désagréables pour le Roi d'Angleterre, qu'ils esperoient qu'il aimeroit mieux se réunir avec la France, que d'y consentir. Il temoigna à M. de Rouvigny qu'il soupçonnoit que sa Majesté trouvoit bon que le Roi d'Angleterre lui déclarât la guerre pour avoir de l'argent, avec promesse que dès qu'il seroit le maître, il conclurroit la paix. M. de Rouvigny lui dit que, pour lui faire voir le contraire bien clairement, j'étois prêt à répandre une somme considérable dans le Parlement, pour l'obliger à refuser absolument de l'argent pour la guerre, et le solicita de lui nommer des gens qu'on pût gagner. Milord Roussel répondit qu'il seroit bien fâché d'avoir commerce avec des gens capables d'être gagnés par de l'argent; mais il lui parût fort aisé d'être assuré par cette proposition qu'il n'y a entre votre Majesté et le Roi d'Angleterre nulle intelligence qui puisse préjudicier à leur gouvernement," (or, as we call it, Constitution). " Il dit à M. de Rouvigny que lui, et tous ses amis, ne souhaitoient autre chose que la cassation du Parlement; qu'ils savoient qu'elle ne pouvoient venir que du côté de la France; que puisqu'il les assûroit que c'étoit le dessein de sa Majesté d'y travailler, ils se voyoient obligé de se bien fier en lui, et faire tout leur possible pour obliger le Roi d'Angleterre à rechercher encore une fois son amitié; et mettre par ce moyen sa Majesté en état de contribuer à leur satisfaction. Il l'assura que ce seroit là le sentiment de Milord Shafbery, qui doit voir un de ce jours M. de Rouvigny chez Milord Roussel, &c."

Lord Russell married Rachel, second daughter, and at length heir, to Thomas Wriothesley, fourth and last Earl of Southampton of his name, and widow of Francis Lord Vaughan, eldest son of

Richard, Earl of Carbery, in Ireland. By that Lady, so highly and justly distinguished by her virtues and her talents, he left an only son, Wriothesley, who succeeded to his grandfather's honours and estates; and two daughters; Rachel, married to William Cavendish, second Duke of Devonshire; and Catherine, to John Manners, Marquis of Granby, son and heir of John, first Duke of Rutland.

Engraved by S. Freeman.

ANNE CARRE, COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

OB. 1684.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF EGREMONT.

Published by Harding, Triphook, & Lepard, Finsbury Square, London, Aug. 1, 1824.

ANNE CARRE,

COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

THE history of the parents, and of the issue, of this lady has rendered her more remarkable than the circumstances of her own life. She was the only daughter, and sole heir, of that deservedly miserable pair, Robert Carre, Earl of Somerset, and Frances, daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Suffolk of his family, and was married in the summer of 1637 to William, Lord Russell, son and heir of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford. That nobleman, naturally enough, had been so averse to the alliance as to endeavour to detach his son from it, not only by his positive interdiction, but by giving him permission to choose a wife from any other family in England; but the attachment of the lovers, which reigned equally in the bosom of each, was unconquerable. At length, all parties having tormented themselves and each other for many months, the King was prevailed on to interfere, and the Duke of Lenox, whom he employed to solicit the old Earl, at last obtained his consent; but with so much difficulty, that the nuptials did not take place till more than a year after the Duke's first application. There is in the Strafford Papers, among Mr. Garrard's lively letters of court news, one to the Lord Wentworth, afterwards the great Earl of Strafford, then in Ireland, chiefly on the subject of this match. It is dated on the twenty-third of March, 1636, O. S and I need, perhaps, offer no apology for inserting a rather long extract from it, especially as it relates chiefly to a person of whom the very slender particulars which have been preserved of her have never before been collected, not to mention certain curious features which it will be found to exhibit of the manners of some of the highest of James's courtiers.

"The marriage," says Mr. Garrard, "will now shortly, at Easter, be solemnized. A most fine lady. My Lord of Bedford loves money a little too much, which, together with my Lord of Somerset's unexpected poverty, hath been the cause of this long treaty, not any diminution of the young parties' affection, who are all in a flame in love. My Lord of Somerset told the Lord Chamberlain" (the eccentric and profligate Philip, Earl of Pembroke) "who hath been a great moderator in this business, before his daughter, 'though one of them must be undone if that marriage went on, he chose rather to undo himself than to make her unhappy;' and he hath kept his word; for he hath sold all he can make money of, even his house that he lives in, at Chiswick, with all his plate, jewels, and household stuff, to raise a portion of twelve thousand pounds, which my Lord of Bedford is now content to accept. This Lord" (Somerset) "pretends that he lent my Lord Goring three thousand pounds, when he was in the Tower, and, being now in some straits about raising the portion, he hath sent to the Lord Goring, and demanded it of him He denies it lent, for he says it was given for real services then done him, which the Duke of Bucks could witness, were he living. This hath made a great noise, and much siding in the business. My Lord Chamberlain, most fierce to carry it for Somerset, being one night at Salisbury House, fell into discourse about this three thousand pounds, saying that it was due to my Lord of Somerset, and that Somerset would ask leave of the King to sue my Lord Goring, and that he would recover it, for somewhat that he knew. This he speaking with much vehemence, my Lord Powis, being by, spoke to moderate him, especially since it concerned my Lord Goring, who had always been his true and faithful friend. He replied he loved my Lord Goring well, but he loved a truth better. For one good service my Lord Goring had done him he had requited him with twenty. Powis said that he believed further that my Lord Goring was not able suddenly, if it were due, to pay such a sum; and asked him whether he would make

himself a solicitor, to gather in Somerset's debts. That word 'solicitor' heated his Lordship. He fell into higher passion, and swore deeply, 'God damn me, I have seen a letter under my Lord Goring's hand, where he confesseth the debt, and it must be a great courtesy must deserve three thousand pounds. It was a gift for a Prince to give, not for a subject. Let my Lord Goring shew wherein he did ever my Lord Somerset a courtesy worth three hundred pounds, and he shall quit his three thousand, for which he hath his letter to shew.' My Lady Salisbury saying then—'If he had such a letter to shew, let him shew it, and the business was at an end.' That 'If,' the Lord Chamberlain took worse from her than any thing spoken before—'Would she If, when he had sworn he had seen it?' Still she repeated 'If;' and she thought she might say If to the King, much more to him. She further told him that in all disputes he must have his own way, but he should not have it of her—He should not silence her in her own house—She would speak. So she rose up, and went from him, and the company, into her chamber. But it must not rest so. My Lady Vaux, and my Lady Powis, undertook his Lordship, and he, being in an excellent good disposition, they brought him to a better temper, and to more reason, which effected, in they go to my Lady Salisbury's chamber, who was now the angrier of the two. There they made them friends: Powis made them kiss. Sic finita est fabula." It appears from a subsequent letter in the same collection that the marriage did not take place till the following July, Lord Russell being then twenty-three years old, and the bride seventeen.

It is not only agreeable but useful to find traits of goodness in the worst characters. Such discoveries excite kind and compassionate feelings, abate the uncharitable arrogance with which we are apt to view fallen sinners, and, by shewing that the same sources in the human heart may produce the most detestable crimes, and the most excellent affections, warn us against too proud a confidence in the principles with which we may flatter

ourselves that we can fortify our frail nature. The guilty and degraded Somerset, whose first step towards deliberate murther had been made under the influence of the gentlest of all passions, loved his only child with the sweetest extravagancy of a parent's fondness. She inherited his tenderness; but the same disposition which by a sad fatality involved him in the most frightful ruin, and rendered him an object of disgust and horror, blessed her marriage bed, and shed on her fame a mild lustre, which the lapse of time has not yet wholly obscured. It is said that she was ignorant of her mother's dishonour till she read it in a pamphlet which had been incautiously left in a window, and that she was so struck by this accidental discovery that she fell into a fit, and was found senseless, with the book open before her.

This lady, bowed down probably by grief for the premature loss of her son, Lord Russell, a few months before, died on the tenth of May, 1684, at the age of sixty-four, leaving a character perfectly unblemished. She was buried at Cheneys, in Bucks, where, after the death of her lord, who was in 1694 created Duke of Bedford, and survived her till the year 1700, a superb monument was erected to their memory, in which their figures are represented, under a canopy supported by pillars of the Corinthian order. She had seven sons, of whom the first and third, Francis and John, died bachelors; William, the second son, ancestor of the succeeding Dukes, suffered death for high treason in 1683; Edward, Robert, James, and George, married, but no male issue remains from them. She had also four daughters: Anne, who died unmarried; Diana, married first to Sir Greville Verney, of Compton Verney, in Warwickshire, Knight of the Bath, secondly to William, Lord Allington; Catherine, died an infant; and Margaret, became the wife of her kinsman, Edward Russell, Earl of Orford.